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The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century

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By

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THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

TO THE MEMORY OF MY LITTLE GIRL

M. PATRICIA MEYER

Introduction

THE twentieth century is unique in educational history and represents the most significant period of the centuries in the evolution of formal education. The turn of the century brought notable changes. The School, as an institution, as well as the methods of instruction, had become definitely formalized. The theory of formal discipline dominated the curriculum, the method of instruction, and whole educational procedures, and, although new doctrines, such as those of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart, had been promulgated, the school practices remained essentially the same. The twentieth century, then, represents the essential innovations of modern education.

These innovations may be said to have been initiated by two significant contributions—the published lectures of William James on the applications of psychology to education, and Dewey's *School and Society,* both appearing in 1899. James conceived education in terms of behavior and explained experiences in terms of behavior changes. Dewey, on the other hand, regarded the school as a social institution and conceived its function as that of directly affecting the social life and processes. Their writings, moreover, initiated the two movements in education: James, the application of psychology to the learning process and the scientific movement in education; Dewey, the sociological emphasis. These emphases provide the basis

for a consideration and reconstruction of the curriculum; also for a consideration of method and educational processes which characterize the twentieth-century activity.

The most important contribution of this period is perhaps the application of the psychological science to educational procedure. It was this application which led to the emphasis upon educational measurement, and tended to limit experimentation to the conventional school program. For two decades the whole attention of educators was centered upon the scientific study of learning, method, and measurement of a conventional school program, and the social significance of education was almost forgotten. More recently there has been a strong reaction to the extreme and limited scientific emphasis in the sociological studies and progressive educational movements which tends to balance the whole educational program.

The story of this period is a fascinating one and is here presented comprehensively for the first time by an exacting scholar. This book, therefore, represents a significant contribution which will be welcomed by every educator.

E. George Payne

Preface

THIS book is frankly an account of the development of education in the twentieth century. It does not, like most histories of "modern" education, consider education in the earlier centuries. Curiously enough, though almost four decades of the present century have gone by, up to now there have been virtually no attempts to set down its educational history in a single volume. Such studies that handle the twentieth-century development of education, with all its pre- and post-war trappings, are in the very nature of things fairly specialized, and thus not intended for the general student.

The present volume seeks to set down only the high points. In essence this book is the outcome of an undergraduate course in the history of twentieth-century education, a course conducted for more than a decade at the New York University School of Education. It has been written primarily to meet the needs of these students, and those who might be pursuing similar courses elsewhere. It is intended principally as a teaching instrument to enable teachers and prospective teachers to have in a single volume a bird's-eye glimpse of the recent educational past.

A.E.M.

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The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century

1

Progressive Education

A. Historical Influences

Historically, Progressive Education has been influenced by two main currents of thought, (1) the individualistic and (2) the social.

1. The individualistic motive

a. Rousseau. From time immemorial, education has focused on the individual or on society. In ancient times it was society that bore the heavy stress. Save for a few dissenting notes from the groves of Athens, the Ancients sought to mold the individual in the hard and inflexible matrix of a dominant society. Through the long centuries of the medieval era education continued to operate for religious and political ends. It was not until the advent of the Humanists, in the fourteenth century, that the idea of educating the individual for the sake of his own precious self was earnestly considered. Impelled by a lust for personal culture, the Humanists quite naturally were inclined to weight the scales in favor of personal development. The most glowing advocate of individualism in education was no doubt the rebellious Rousseau, who, a few years before the French Revolution, wrote his epoch-making *Emile,* in which he unceremoniously brushed aside almost every form of social control. For Rousseau: (1) the child was the starting point in all education—his

capacities were to be freed and allowed to grow without any adult restraint; (2) learning was to come from the child's own experimental investigation of his surroundings—there was to be no political and theological indoctrination; (3) education was to come through actual living rather than through books. Though Rousseau was an educational theorist and not a practical school teacher, his *Emile* definitely left its mark on the educational world. During the eighteenth century and a large part of the nineteenth, school reformers strove to put some of its more practical theories into operation.

b. The psychological movement. Out of Rousseau's stress on the individual subsequently came the psychological movement. Taken up by school reformers—and in particular by the great trio of "psychologizers," Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel—the psychological movement flourished especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. Subjects, methods, and practices were "psychologized" for the purpose of developing the individual child's powers and capacities. Teacher training institutions, as might be expected, also were affected by the psychological trend, and psychology became one of their leading subjects. At the same time considerable attention was bestowed on methodology. Out of the psychological current, together with its antecedent handmaiden of stress on the individual, there emerged in time the modern activity methods and programs.

c. Pestalozzi. Greatly influenced by some of Rousseau's theories, Pestalozzi attempted to develop improved methods of teaching the child. The result of his labor was the so-called object-teaching technique, which was introduced into the United States about the middle of the nineteenth century. Like Rousseau, Pestalozzi stressed sense training. He believed, in fact, that a rich sensory

background was a prerequisite to the learning of definitions and abstract statements of books. To provide these sensory experiences Pestalozzi used objects, direct observations, and field trips. The experiences, in a learning sense, were satisfactory enough, but the discussions that flowed therefrom tended to become formal and mechanized in actual practice. Aside from this weakness, however, object-teaching in the American school contributed to greater pupil activity and participation.[1]

d. **Felix Adler.** Manual training came to America from Russia through the Imperial Technical School of Moscow. First organized in this country in 1879, it was introduced in the St. Louis Manual Training School. Four years later Felix Adler introduced it in the Workingman's School in New York City. This school subsequently became the celebrated Ethical Culture School, in which every elementary grade had four hours of creative or constructive work a week. It was Adler's conviction that object-creating must supplement object-teaching, and that creative work should be a regular part of instruction.

2. The social motive

If Rousseau is sometimes proclaimed a distant ancestor of contemporary Progressive Education it is mainly because of his insistence on the rights of the child. Subsequently, others—notably Ellen Key, Tolstoi, Gurlitt, Wyneken, and Montessori—were to stress these rights vigorously and anew. Consideration of the individual, however, is only a fractional part of the program of modern Progressive Education. Another important part is

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[1] For a more detailed account of the movement see Graves, F. P., *A History of Education,* iii, Chaps. V–VII; Meyer, A. E., *Education in Modern Times,* Chaps. I–V.

its emphasis on socialization and social participation. This trend owes its beginning not to Rousseau but to Herbart and perhaps even more to Froebel. Both of these school reformers put great emphasis on the *development of individual personality.* But personality, they argued, is not something that can be dissociated from the rest of the world, like that of Rousseau's isolated *Emile.* On the contrary, Herbart and Froebel made social participation the essence of personal development. The social motive in education regards the school as a social incubator. Its materials and content, methods and practices are built around social living. Formal subjects like arithmetic and grammar, once of towering importance, are now overshadowed by the content subjects of history, civics, and geography, as well as by industrial and constructive work. Under the impact of the social motive, moreover, greater consideration is given to such socializing activities as group projects, self-government, school hikes, service leagues, and the like.

The social motive has influenced not only the elementary school but also the high school and the college. Here, too, the social studies have gained strength and become increasingly popular with students. Teacher training institutions likewise have felt the social emphasis. Not only must they familiarize prospective teachers in the newer socializing methods and practices now found in the up-to-date school but, naturally, they also must guide them to an understanding of that complex society of which the individual is a related part. The result is that in the training of the teacher sociology has been recognized as a necessary and essential subject.

As a consequence of the social stress in education it has been necessary to re-examine the meaning of education. The old view which saw knowledge as the chief end of

education plainly is no longer acceptable, nor is the view which perceives education simply as mental discipline. A fairly common definition of education today sees it as the process of developing an individual's power to adjust himself to his complex and ever-changing world. Some educators would go even further and harness the school to the task of remaking society into a better society.

B. Modernizing Educational Theory

1. John Dewey

a. Life. The most famous of contemporary American educational philosophers, and one of the most influential in shaping the practices of the modern American school, is John Dewey. Born in 1859 in Burlington, Vermont, he received most of his schooling there. Long before his climb to eminence, Dewey's interest had turned to philosophy. In the eighties he went to the Middle West, teaching that subject for a time at the Universities of Minnesota and Michigan. In 1894 he became connected with the University of Chicago, remaining there about a decade before joining the faculty of Columbia University. During all these academic years Dewey led a very active and productive life, lecturing, writing, and traveling.[2] His *Democracy and Education* is probably his greatest educational work and has been translated into several tongues. Throughout the world progressive teachers have acknowledged his leadership. Not only is his renown world-wide, but he himself has several times gone far from the American frontier to assist in the task of remaking the schools. For this purpose he has been in China, in Turkey, and in Russia.

[2] Some of Dewey's most important books are: *The School and Society* (1899); *Ethics* (with J. H. Tufts) (1908); *How We Think* (1910), *De-*

b. His philosophy. Dewey started out as an *idealist;* then he became a *pragmatist;* and today he is commonly referred to as an *experimentalist.* The task of philosophy, according to Dewey, is not to find out how we know the world but rather how we can control and improve it. According to this viewpoint "philosophy is a study of social conflicts, especially those involved in the relations of the three alleged leading forces of modern society, viz., democracy, industry, and science."[3] Thus conceived, the problem of philosophy is "to clarify men's ideas as to the social and moral strifes of their own day."[4] And to achieve such a result social problems must be approached experimentally. Both as a philosophy as well as a method, experimentalism looks upon all things as essentially experimental. Nothing is fixed and nothing is permanent. The universe itself is in a state of flux, and to set down neat and compact formulae about eternal and absolute truths not only is impossible but futile. Denying a supernatural world, the experimentalist asserts that, in the end, man must determine his own course. Only by harnessing the experimental procedure to his complex social problems can man ever hope to build an efficient social life. In his struggle to control the process of change man must rely on his creative intelligence.

c. His educational principles. For Dewey and his legions of followers the aim of education is to develop a social efficiency which will enable one to participate in life's common activities. The ideal school must be an

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mocracy and Education (1916); *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920); *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922); *Experience and Nature* (1925); *The Public and Its Problems* (1927); *The Quest for Certainty* (1929); *Experience and Education* (1938).

[3] Horne, H. H., *The Philosophy of Education,* Macmillan (revised, 1927), p. 297.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

active and dynamic society in which the child learn through his experiences. Here the child's life itself, i the Dewey phrase, is education. Here growth is cumul tive, each state of development having within itself th seed of the following state. The pragmatist and the ex perimentalist regard the child as an ever-growing an ever-changing personality; the school is considered mere instrument to facilitate this growth and chang The wisdom and knowledge of the elders may have con ditioned what the child is to learn; nevertheless eac child or group is to be regarded as unique, having its ow life to live and being confronted by a future filled wit new and unsolved problems. The elders may propos what the child is to learn; but ultimately it is the learne who disposes it. As the active core of the whole learnin process, the growing child must select and reorganize h cultural heritage, recasting it in the course of time to su his needs in a new and changing world. To enable hir to do this his creativity must be encouraged. In suc an atmosphere, moreover, coercion and indoctrinatio are suspect; if used at all, they must be used sparingl and as a last resort. Creativity is experimentalism great stress in education but this creativity, it also in sists, must not be haphazard. On the contrary, it mus be guided. Nor is it purely an individual propositior At its best, creativity assumes the grand guise of dis covery and adventure undertaken and shared with one' fellows.

Summarizing the foregoing, we have: (1) *Education i life* and not merely a preparation for life; (2) *educatio is growth,* and as long as growth continues education con tinues: (3) *education is a continuous reconstruction c*

d. **Dewey in relation to Froebel and Herbart.** Inevitably, the thinking of John Dewey has been influenced by that of previous thinkers, Froebel and Herbart in particular. The cornerstone of education in Froebel's kindergarten was growth. This Dewey has accepted, but he has rejected the concept of growth as an unfolding of latent principles. As a pragmatist, moreover, Dewey has discarded the Froebelian mysticism and symbolism, much of which is metaphysical and not at all essential to the practical operation of the kindergarten. Froebel's great stress on the spiritual is unacceptable to the experimentalist. Froebel, being a philosophical idealist, accepted the idea of growth towards the Infinite and the Eternal. But for Dewey, developing towards any sort of remote goal is impossible, since such a goal would be in the nature of something fixed or static. Education is for him a continuous process without any fixed goal. On several points Dewey and Froebel agree: Both stress creativity, but in different ways; both insist on learning by doing; both conceive of the school as a living community wherein children participate in social activities.

Herbart's methods and practices, being much more formalized than those of Froebel, would naturally tend to draw greater criticism from Dewey. Thus the American educator has rejected the Herbartian type of recitation as being mainly deductive and allowing for too little pupil self-activity. For Dewey, Herbart's school is too teacher-controlled and not enough child-centered. It is too stiff, too authoritarian, and not democratic enough. That Dewey has rejected the Herbartian tendency towards abstract intellectualism should be no reason for wonder. Concerning the points of more or less agreement between Herbart and Dewey, we find that both stress the importance of interest in learning; both appre-

ciate the significance of individual differences; and both recognize the need for studying the child before trying to teach him. Nor is there such a great gulf between the Herbartian Formal Steps and the Dewey Act of Thought, which may be characterized thus:

Essentials of Method

Dewey	Herbart
1. Activity	1. Preparation
2. Problem	2. Presentation
3. Data	3. Comparison
4. Hypothesis	4. Generalization
5. Testing	5. Application

The Herbartian procedure stresses the activity of the teacher; the Dewey steps focus on the child as an active learner. The latter method seeks to discover what is unknown. The former seeks to impart what is unknown to the child but known to the teacher. "The two methods," says Horne, "admirably supplement each other; they are usable in different fields. Herbart is effective in the linguistic, literary, historical, and ideational fields; Dewey in the fields of the manual arts and the sciences. Wherever the content of books is taught, Herbart is useful; wherever the manipulation of things is primary, Dewey is useful."[5]

e. Dewey's experimental school at Chicago. In 1896, while associated with the University of Chicago, John and Alice Dewey, together with a small group of neighbors and co-workers, launched a small experimental school. And a most unconventional sort of school it was! Few of the established principles of educational procedure graced its halls. There were no school subjects, and even the familiar school furniture was prom-

[5] Horne, H. H., *The Democratic Philosophy of Education,* Macmillan, 1932, p. 207.

inently absent. Educational critics who came to observe it left in doubt and dismay, convinced that the school's failure was inevitable. But the school continued, growing slowly and discarding most of the conventional school procedures as it went along.

True to its name, Dewey's experimental school was a testing house for educational principles. If Rousseau's *Emile* was a written protest against educational convention, then Dewey's experiment was a school protest against it. There were round-table discussions with the staff and lectures to parents and teachers of the school. Out of these talks came a number of essays, among them *School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum,* both of which set down some of the problems that the laboratory school was trying to solve.

The school was intended for pupils from four to thirteen years of age. What its director sought was "to carry into effect certain principles which Froebel was perhaps the first consciously to set forth." At bottom, Dewey's school sought "to train children in co-operation and mutually useful living." The "primary root of all educative activity," it was announced, lies "in the instinctive, impulsive attitudes and activities of the child." Hence the Herbartian method, which was popular at the time and which emphasized "the presentation and application of external material," was not looked upon with favor. Instead, Dewey's procedure was on the basis of what is now generally known as the *activity program.* Even the traditional triumvirate of reading, writing, and arithmetic grew out of the child's "life activities," out of his methods of learning and living—not out of his memorizing any set and prescribed studies. Active learning and the reconstruction of experience took the lead in the

play, construction, contact with nature, self-expression, use of tools, and so on. Here, Dewey holds, "the great thing to keep in mind is that through them (i.e., the activities) the entire spirit of the school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society."

Not only was the child to be active instead of passive; not only was he to work rather than listen; he also was to learn how to become socially efficient. Co-operation rather than competition was the keynote. The child's individual tendencies were to be "organized and directed through the uses made of them in keeping up the co-operative living." The school, in other words, was to prepare its pupils for life *by being life*. It was to reproduce in miniature "the typical conditions of social life." Through production and creative use, Dewey argued, we secure valuable knowledge. In this way, "modifications and abandonments of intellectual inheritance" were to be effected and society thus freed from the bonds of social heritage.

In 1902 the laboratory school was merged with the School of Education of the University of Chicago and it continued for two more years under the direction of its founder. Finally, in 1904, Dewey left Chicago to become Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University.

f. **Philosophic critics of Dewey's theories.** Despite Dewey's immense influence on twentieth-century education, it must not be supposed that his theories are universally accepted in America. His theory is accepted in the main by the pragmatists and experimentalists but

rejected by the realists and the idealists. For the realist the important thing is not to transform the world, but to conform to the real world that exists. In the domain of education, however, the realists have contributed very little, having preferred, it seems, to do most of their thinking in the realm of pure philosophy. The idealists, on the other hand, have been vigorous and productive in education. International in scope, their ranks embrace such names as Giovanni Gentile of Italy, Paul Geheeb (once of Germany and now in Switzerland), Victor Cousin of France, and May Sinclair of England. The American roll of idealists includes Josiah Royce, W. T. Harris, and Herman H. Horne. Of these, Horne is Dewey's sharpest critic, though a kindly one. Like Dewey, Horne has expounded his views in numerous writings including *The Philosophy of Education, Idealism in Education, Free Will and Human Responsibility, This New Education, John Dewey's Philosophy,* and *The Democratic Philosophy of Education.* Published in 1932, the latter is a critical companion to Dewey's *Democracy and Education.*

The idealist does not believe that education is necessarily conformity. However, he rejects the idea that education is creativity alone. For the idealist education is neither all creativity nor all conformity; it is partially both. The child conforms and creates. He accepts what seem to be plain and obvious truths; at the same time he must learn how to create new values. Unlike the pragmatist, the idealist rejects the idea that education is a reconstruction of experience. What is reconstructed, according to the idealist, is not experience but an ideal pattern of social and individual life antecedent to it. Man, as conceived by the idealist, is a free personality and the function of education is to cultivate this free person-

ality. Potentially, man's development knows no bounds and therefore his education is ever incomplete. For the idealist, however, education has a fixed and definite goal. As conceived by him, education is not simply growth and constant adjustment and readjustment; it is growth toward the Infinite. That, to the pragmatist, seems vague and not altogether practicable. Fundamentally, here, the idealistic emphasis is on the spirit. People, contends the idealist, are more than biological organisms, more than mere living mechanisms. They are living spirits. "An idealistic philosophy," writes Horne, "touches earth with heaven, sees men as children of the Infinite, is nonpractical as well as practical, believes in knowledge for the sake of knowledge as well as for the sake of life, acknowledges an absolute goal for life and education in pursuit of which man finds himself most truly, accepts the divine origin and immortal destiny of man. . . . "[6]

g. **G. Stanley Hall's critique.** Of a somewhat different nature are the critical flares set off by the late G. Stanley Hall, one of America's outstanding educators and once Dewey's teacher at Johns Hopkins University in 1884. Says Hall:

> The educational writings of John Dewey have in recent years had much vogue in this country, and his influence has been highly stimulating and salutary. The average conservative teacher who reads him thinks himself progressive, but never to a degree that makes him feel unsafe or even much unsettled. To those, however, versed in paidology Dewey not only has nothing new to offer, but seems obvious, if not platitudinous, and as if he anticipated the attitude of experts in this field toward him, he severely criticizes them. It is to them, however, that he is chiefly indebted for the ideas which most teachers associate with his name. He is best described as a mediator between child study and the old philosophical orthodoxies of Herbart, Hegel, Hamilton, or other more or less

[6] Horne, H. H., *The Philosophy of Education,* Macmillan (revised, 1927), p. 316.

metaphysical thinkers, so that great and beneficent as his influence has been, it is transient, because he lacks originality. I could never understand why he should attack the principle of recapitulation when his own school at Chicago was based on it; why to show the role of measurements in teaching number he deemed it necessary to disparage if not deny any place for counting or other processes; why his characterization of the Gary Idea as making the life of the community flow through the school should be thought novel; or, indeed, why his explanation of the system should so often be preferred to that of the author.[7]

2. Junius L. Meriam

In the practical work of modernizing educational theory, the name of Junius L. Meriam is notable. A pioneer like Dewey, Meriam established a laboratory school at the University of Missouri in 1904, where he experimented with a radical curriculum for a score of years. Like Dewey, Meriam believed that education was not something to be imposed from without but rather something which should draw the latent possibilities from within the child. Like Dewey, once more, Meriam was ready to break with convention in education. To facilitate experimentation he did away with the traditional school subjects and school furniture. What he wanted was a curriculum that was related to the child's life. An activity program was installed, with excursions, constructive work, observation, and discussion playing the important parts. After a while Meriam concluded that, on the whole, it was impracticable to run a school day without some sort of division. Thus there gradually evolved a fourfold organization of activities and materials: (1) observation, (2) play, (3) stories, (4) handwork. On the surface this is plainly much more like Froebel's than Herbart's school. Meriam's program, corresponding to the school day, was divided into four ninety-minute

[7] Hall, G. S., *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, pp. 499–500

periods. A far cry from the traditional school day, which scheduled its routine recitations at ten- to thirty-minute intervals, running them off very much as a railroad dispatches trains! The Meriam innovation not only broke with a long-standing tradition, but it also afforded teacher and learner considerable flexibility. Its significance lies in the fact that it established once and for all the idea that a school day is something more than a mere chronological proposition.

3. The Francis W. Parker School

Rather curious—and somewhat sad—is the fact that the ten years following Dewey's retirement from the University of Chicago were not very fruitful in the number of experiments designed to reconstruct the traditional theories of education. Besides the two schools mentioned, there was only one other, the Francis W. Parker School of Chicago. The school bore the name of Colonel Francis W. Parker, an American educator of the first magnitude. While he accepted the traditional curriculum of subjects, he was all his life a vigorous advocate of the idea that education was growth of the whole child. Through his immense influence on teachers, Parker, with Dewey, must be regarded as one of the great forces in the reshaping of twentieth-century American education. The school which carries his name was launched in 1901, the year before Parker's death. Its founder was Flora J. Cooke, who was assisted by a staff of sixteen teachers, most of whom had been associated with Colonel Parker himself in the Cook County Normal School. Like the Dewey and Meriam schools, the Francis W. Parker School was seeking to rid the school of its rigid formality. Like its fellow laboratory schools, it was seeking to break down hard and fast subject-matter

boundary lines. It, too, was groping in the direction of the Project Method, though this had not yet been formulated in any precise terms. Under the auspices of the Francis W. Parker School there was issued, beginning in 1912, a series of *Year Books*. Eight in number, they contain many magnificent statements of the work and philosophy of the school. It is in the first volume that one finds expressed the credo of the teachers of this school, namely:

> that self-actuated work causes the greatest gain in the pupil; that training in initiative is the child's great need; that in his own interests we often find educative opportunity; that freedom with a balanced responsibility is the best condition of moral and intellectual growth; that real experience with actual material is an essential of learning; that opportunity for varied expression is necessary for right education; that for purposes of development children must be treated as individuals and not as a group; that one of the most effective and wholesome motives of work is the social motive.[8]

Such were the ideals that motivated the work of the school. In the lower grades—there were twelve grades in all—the compartmental subject setup was broken up and in its place came broad units of study, centering around the community, Greek life, colonial life, and the like. Curiously enough, experimentation in the high school curriculum was almost impossible. College and university domination barred the way to change. The same situation existed in many other countries and, indeed, has continued to exist to the present. Through their entrance requirements, institutions of higher learning have been able to exert a direct control over the secondary school, with the result that educational experimentation, particularly with regard to the curriculum, has been exceedingly difficult. It is only in recent years, and

[8] The Francis W. Parker School Year Book, Vol. I, *The Social Motive in School Work*, p 11, 1912.

particularly in the United States, that the secondary school has been able to break some of these fetters.

4. William H. Kilpatrick

Once popularly designated as "the million dollar professor" because his lectures in Teachers College of Columbia University had attracted such enormous crowds of students, William H. Kilpatrick has often been referred to as an interpreter of John Dewey. This is true enough, but Kilpatrick has himself contributed in a large way to the reconstruction of modern educational theory and practice. His plain and understandable writings, like his lectures, have familiarized thousands of teachers in America with the liberal trends in American education.[9] Influenced by the psychology of James, Thorndike, and others, and convinced of the significance of a rapidly changing social order, Kilpatrick demanded that the school become "a place where actual experiencing takes place." Applying his psychology to the learning process, Kilpatrick has pointed out that:

> each significant learning experience in some measure remakes subsequent experience, in some measure gives a wider outlook as to the possibilities of life and deeper insight into its processes; gives also differentiated attitudes and appreciations with respect to the different new thing seen and felt; gives also increased technique, power of control over the experience process, to bring it more under conscious direction.[10]

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[9] Some of Kilpatrick's more important writings comprise *The Montessori System Examined,* 1914; *Froebel's Kindergarten Principles Critically Examined,* 1916; *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education,* 1923; *Foundations of Method,* 1925; *Education for a Changing Civilization,* 1926

[10] Kilpatrick, W. H., "Statement of Position," The Twenty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, *The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Making:* Part II, "The Foundations of Curriculum-Making," pp. 128–130, Bloomington, Illinois, 1926.

Learnings, according to Kilpatrick, do not take plac singly. "The whole cat," he once said, "catches th mouse." Learning, Kilpatrick holds, has three aspects (1) mental, (2) physical, (3) dispositional. The firs represents the *how* aspect—the solution of a problem; th second is the skill side; and the third constitutes the driv to do what has to be learned.

a. The Project Method. Out of the thinking anc experimenting of Dewey, Meriam, and the faculty of th Francis W. Parker School has come the Project Method of which Kilpatrick was one of the first and outstanding advocates. In its psychological essence the project is ar application of Dewey's Act of Thought. Defined briefly as a purposeful activity worked out under conditions that approximate those of real life, the project method seeks to deformalize learning and to put it on the basis of pupil need. It has been called "a unit of purposeful experience . . . . where dominating purpose, as inner urge (1) fixes the aim (or end) of the action, (2) guides the process, (3) furnishes its drive, its inner motivation for vigorous prosecution." Projects have been classified into several kinds. Kilpatrick himself has listed the Producers' Project, the Consumers' Project, the Problem Project, and the Drill or Specific Learning Project. Ellsworth Collings, another educator who has contributed in an important way to the wider use of the project method, has classified projects into Play Projects, Excursion Projects, Story Projects, and Hand Projects.

In the laboratory schools, where the project method was born and developed, the purpose had been to get away from the traditionally hard and fast lines of subject matter. The Herbartian Method had made too much of mechanical learning. It had concentrated on factual absorption. Memorization and intellectualiza-

tion had become its chief handmaidens. Too often it specialized in book learning. Too often the subject matter to be acquired by the learner was remote from the child's living, having no tangible connection with it. The traditional methods, moreover, had stressed teacher activity and consequently had demanded pupil passivity. What Dewey, Meriam, and the other innovators wanted was something that would do away with all this. For these educators, subject matter by itself, particularly in the systematic doses it was given to the child in school, was not the significant thing. It was Kilpatrick who subsequently declared that we should "teach our arithmetic as it is needed; that is in connection with the situations of actual need. The effect of this will be to find arithmetic in many places scattered along the path of life."

5. Hughes Mearns

a. The disciplinary conception of writing. The school, as it has been traditionally conceived, made its debut with the use of the written word, its purpose at bottom being to record a body of culture grown too large for ready retention or exposition. In the course of time, education concerned itself more and more with the task of developing in the pupil a mastery of the written language. Particularly has this been the case in the last five or six decades, during which the printed word has become increasingly a part of daily living. Not only was the school verbalized in the nineteenth century, but almost the whole educational program had its essence in printed material. Under the spell of the disciplinary motive in education, moreover, writing, like reading and arithmetic, was looked upon primarily as training. The idea that writing was something more than an exercise in copying

and reproducing, if thought of at all, was generally rejected. What was important was not any self-expression that came from the child, but his successful mastery of standards. Thus, in writing, the expression of ideas was discarded in favor of the acquisition of form—that is, such things as readable penmanship, flawless grammar, correct punctuation, and neat papers with proper margins. The result of such imposed regulations was that individuality in written expression was crushed. Every good paper was remarkably like any other good paper. Writing, instead of being the child's expression, was sadly stereotyped. Not based on any felt need, it became devoid of meaning and represented nothing more to the child than the mastery of adult formulas.

b. **Creative youth.** Under the influence of Dewey and the other twentieth-century fashioners of educational theory, the idea of training children to write on the basis of adult standards was sharply challenged. Spontaneity of expression rather than formality began to be stressed. The child's thoughts were deemed more valuable than his ability to imitate the adult form of expression. What the child could accomplish, if properly guided, was first effectively demonstrated by Hughes Mearns, the author of *Creative Youth* and *Creative Power* and a professor in the School of Education of New York University. Mearns is a gifted teacher not only of college students but of children as well. In his *Creative Youth* he has recorded some of his observations as a teacher in the Lincoln School. To begin with, Mearns is an excellent reader. He started, as he himself has said, with what he had—immature junior high school students relatively uninterested in good writing. To these youngsters Mearns read, making running comments as he went along. Slowly he lured the abler ones in the group to do some

oral reading to each other. Little by little the fact dawned upon them that they could be critical, that they had something to say, and that what they said was important regardless of the writer. "We read," says Mearns, "—and munched!—steadily for fifty minutes. Old favorites .... were given with that strange rich effect which comes only with the rehearsing of fine music ....." Out of these experiences grew the Robert Frost Club, which took the place of the literature class. Pupils were required to read—but what they read was entirely up to them. At the same time, fine writings were presented orally with revealing comments that brought life into what had once been meaningless. Interest grew, and with it came keener and maturer discussions of literary values. In fact, by the time the children reached the eighth grade they were manifesting a pretty keen appreciation of literary merits.

In his writing class Mearns followed a similar procedure. Here, too, he started from scratch. Here, too, there was no required writing. In fact, sometimes a year would elapse before a child would write anything, but eventually the child's creativity blossomed. Beginning with personal conferences, as well as helpful and understanding class discussions, Mearns nursed his protégés into a feeling of confidence. Gradually the children began to produce stories and poems. But Mearns constantly stressed the need of hard and strenuous effort. First, the child was to create; then was to come the labor of putting the finished production into its finest form. For Mearns this mechanical editing is of significance. "In its place," he has declared, "it is of high importance, this coldly intellectual stage; the value of a piece of created work is raised there in direct proportion to the intelligence of the creator." Under the spell of Mearns's

masterful guidance, the children wrote not only good prose but they burst into lovely verse. A fifth-grade girl, for example, wrote the following:

Spring and Summer

On an evening soft with mist,
The moon shone on a silver brook,
Summer came out from the shadowed glade
And Spring came from the wood.
Summer stepped across the brook,
But Spring stood still
They stayed together for one happy night—
Oh, the wonder of that night.

. . . . . .

Night had gone, and with it Spring;
Dawn found Summer all alone.

This bit of beauty was not, as one might readily believe, a glittering exception. In his *Creative Youth* and *Creative Power*, Mearns has cited scores of others. Behind Mearns's success with creative youth lie many factors. To begin with, Mearns himself is a creative artist. "I am a writing man," he has said, "and not a teacher of the subject of writing; and there is a vast difference between these two sorts of creature." There is, indeed, a difference. For the former, writing is the expression of an experience. For the latter, writing is too often simply a form of training. For Mearns, moreover, children are essentially creative persons, not scholars. "They use language as the artist the world over and in all ages has used his medium, not as an end in itself, but as a means for the expression of thought and feeling. Language in itself, they sense, is comparatively unimportant. . . . . The attention is never on the word, but on the force that creates the word." Above all, Mearns insists, the child must be spontaneous. There must be no interferences

and no coercions. The atmosphere must be congenial. There must be no ridicule, no shame, no false standards. There must be sympathetic understanding. "Only when they are brought up fearlessly to be themselves, protected from patronizing adults, or when in their play they forget they are inferior, only in these situations does youth give us a glimpse of what is as yet an undiscovered and badly charted region."

But let it not be thought that Mearns stands for complete and unlimited freedom. He does not go the limit, as does the radical Wyneken in his insistence that the child must be completely independent with absolutely no adult interference, either from the state, the church, or the family.

"Most of all I feared that those youths (i.e., those whom he had taught to be creative) would be accused of presumption, which is the name the adult often employs to designate the use of judgment in the young. We knew therefore that we must teach them some of the rigorous and unchanging customs of the world. . . . . This is nothing more or less, in short, than the possession of decent public manners, but it was the hardest lesson our boys and girls had to learn in the few months before graduation. We did not shirk our part, however." Naturalness, good as it may be, is, in other words, not all. There are times for self-expression; and there are times for tact. "The secret of our results lies in the environment which we as teachers skillfully and knowingly set up day by day. Children do behave naturally, we trust, in the presence of influences that the school consciously brings to bear; they are not aware usually that our direction is important, but we are aware of it at every moment."

6. Franz Cizek

Another notable pioneer in the domain of creative education is Franz Cizek, of pre-Nazi Vienna. Through his remarkable work in the art classes for gifted children and the spread of his educational philosophy among his students in the School of Arts and Crafts, Cizek played a significant part in the school reform of the now defunct Austrian Republic. For more than a generation and a half, Cizek has been urging the release of the child's natural powers through creative expression. "The lid," he has asserted, "must be taken off." Every child, he believes, has a natural tendency to express himself through some form of creation, though at the outset such expression has no trace of artistry—it is nature, not art. This creativeness, according to Cizek, is found first in the child's surplus energy, which craves an outlet through some form of creative expression; subsequently, when the energy begins to ebb somewhat, the child draws on what Cizek has called "the heritage of the ages"; finally, the child's creativeness is influenced by his environment. Some children, Cizek has noted, seem to develop spontaneously "almost independently of circumstances." Others seem so rigidly bound to circumstances as to be almost paralyzed in their natural capacity to create. In some cases there are alternate periods of independence and spontaneity.

Cizek's "soul heritage of the ages" is not always the same. It may be latent, or it may be even lacking; and in some instances it may be confused. Is the heritage latent? Then consciousness of it must be aroused. Is it confused? Then it must be clarified. Through proper education, Cizek holds, an equilibrium must be established so that the child will be able to acquire what is new. Concerning environment, Cizek deplores the waning cul-

tural and educative influence of the family. As far as the average school is concerned, Cizek sets off no great glow for it. For him it is essentially a mill which "manufactures children instead of letting them grow."

Cizek asserts that in the individual there are two egos —the conscious and the unconscious. The latter is the one that stamps the child's work of art with its individual charm, but the conventional school has generally stifled the child's unconscious ego. His spirit is maimed; his power to express *himself* becomes distorted by adult ideas; creativity becomes languid; individuality dies. This being the case, Cizek deliberately attempts to preserve for the youngster his child world—the unconscious ego. Just like Mearns, Cizek makes a great deal of sympathetic understanding. By informal suggestion and by praise discreetly bestowed, he seeks to help each child to form subconsciously those ideas that are struggling within him for interpretation. According to Cizek, the impulse to create, to play freely with forms and ideas in the manner of an artist, is only a passing phase. If properly nurtured, he believes, it will last through childhood —only to disappear, however, in early adolescence. Thus it is essential to utilize this urge to creation during childhood and to preserve and prolong it as long as possible. Then, in adolescence, pupils of ordinary normal ability should have at least a fertile basis of ideas and sensory experiences to put to work in the more formal crafts. Those rare souls who possess artistic talents will go on developing their creative powers, and will, in time, master those techniques and standards which constitute the necessary foundation for the highest artistic expression.

Interestingly enough, Cizek has not looked too kindly on the usual type of art education. Art education, indeed, he feels, should not be given in school. In school

the usual teacher attempts to exert an influence over his pupils, and in this respect art as self-expression cannot be expected to flourish. For creative work the teacher's influence is bad; Cizek, in fact, has asserted that his own influence is bad for his class—the best creative work is done by children when they are left to themselves. The teacher, Cizek has insisted, "should be a cipher." Contending that he has no *method,* Cizek lets himself be guided by his pupils. "We must let the children grow," and for this "there is no better method than the inner God." To this inner life of the child, educational technique can offer no magic key. But to force forms upon him which are not natural to him, according to Cizek, is to strangle his individuality.

Cizek's class works without any imposed discipline. Order and routine have no place in his school—often, indeed, his groups raise considerable din. The only external aid to discipline is music. Rhythmics and singing are looked upon as important and valuable outlets.

7. Satis Coleman

As has already been stated, the proponents of Progressive Education have laid a great deal of stress on the child's creativity. That music education should receive particular attention from contemporary Progressives seems quite natural. Time was—and not so long ago—when only an hour or so of the school's weekly program was reserved for music. The form of expression was generally that of group singing, with special stress on the mastery of musical notation and sight reading. Like formal grammar, music tended to be abstract and intellectual. It was essentially a subject to be studied and learned, and not something to be experienced.

Contemporary Progressive educators are not in accord

among themselves with respect to the place and purpose of music in education. Roughly speaking, there are two main schools of thought. On the one hand, there are those educators who are interested in music primarily as an art. Led by such eminent students of music as Seymour and Surette, this group looks upon music education chiefly as training in listening. Their aim, in the end, stresses appreciation rather than experience and expression. On the other hand, however, are those teachers of music who insist that the child in his musical education should be creative. Outstanding among this group of educators are such well-known teachers as Potter, Church, and Coleman. The original leader of the movement, Mrs. Satis Coleman, once likened children to "musical primitives." She feels that youngsters should experience music in all its phases, from its simplest beginnings to its highest and more complex forms.

In her book, *Creative Music for Children,* Mrs. Coleman has recorded her educational principles, chief among which are the following:

1. To keep the child's natural enthusiasm for music, *simplification* is necessary. A child's musical experience should be adapted to the child's development—i.e., his muscles, his vocabulary, understanding, etc. Music should be made so simple "that every child may be able to play."

2. There should be a succession of easy stages of musical development This is to assure continuous growth. Music's whole history should be put within the reach of the child. It should be made practicable enough for him to live through it. There should be a carefully graded sequence of instruments—from rattles for the tiny tots in the kindergarten to stringed and wind instruments for the youngsters in the upper elementary school.

3. Musical experiences should be broad in variety. There should be one unified course of rhythmic activities, rich in content and wide in range. This should include singing, dancing, dramatics, rhythmics, making and playing on instruments, and so on.

4. Stress should be laid on creative activity and constructive doing.

5. Musical experiences should be integrated with other life experiences. Creative music should connect and relate the child's activities and rhythmic experiences.

These principles Mrs. Coleman has sought to apply in practice. In her studio and workshop she taught children of all ages. Here they danced and sang, making their own instruments and creating their own tunes. Beginning with simple instruments within the sphere of their abilities, they proceeded gradually to marimbas and lutes, trumpets and harps, and so on. Their musical experience grew steadily, and with it came understanding and self-expression.

Though Mrs. Coleman is somewhat of an innovator, her influence is marked, and the number of musical experimentalists in Progressive Schools has grown steadily. Working closely with children, these teachers, as has been suggested, are interested first and foremost in the child's growth rather than in music as an art. Music, they feel, is for all, and not for the talented few.

4. Emile Jaques Dalcroze

Modern Progressive Education, as has been suggested, stresses the child's all-round development. Not only is the child to grow mentally and physically, but spiritually and emotionally as well. In its stress on the child's all-round development the New Education has given considerable attention to the child's rhythmic activities and experiences. The idea of rhythmics in education is, of course, not a twentieth-century educational creation. The Athenian Greeks, in striving to develop an individual "harmoniously," clearly recognized the important role played by rhythmics. But Athenian education, after all, was for the elite and not for the masses; and up to only a short time ago the schools for the masses—in the

Western World at any rate—gave very little heed to music and dancing in the general education of the child.

Slightly more than three decades ago Emile Jaques Dalcroze, a teacher of music at Geneva, Switzerland, began to call our attention to the interrelationship of music and rhythmic bodily development. Musical training, Dalcroze found, could best be given by awakening our sense for tone and rhythm. Musical education, he felt, should develop not cellists, pianists, and singers, but "musically developed human beings." Before the student specialized on any instrument, he should develop all his musical faculties. Interestingly enough, Dalcroze found that pupils could not become creative musicians as long as their training was restricted to their ears and hands. What was essential before anything else, was the freeing of the individual's mental, physical, and emotional capacities. What Dalcroze sought in his pupils was an integrated response, one in which there was a harmonization and coordination of the muscles and senses, the nerves, the will, and the emotions. This stress very naturally made it necessary for Dalcroze to give some attention to the education of the body. The result of his work and study was what he called *eurhythmics*, a systematic scheme of rhythmic bodily training.

What are the claims of Dalcroze and his supporters? To begin with, there is, of course, a positive physical development. There is a greater muscular control resulting in a feeling of physical self-mastery. Muscles and nerves are coordinated; and body and mind are harmonized. Dalcroze believes—and many psychologists agree—that it is only through the movements of the whole body that we can really perceive rhythm. Dalcroze, in fact, has gone so far as to assert that by the frequent repetition of exercises it is possible for us to

acquire a "muscular memory." Muscular and mental coordination are thus made automatic. After a year's training in eurhythmics, the pupil responds unhesitatingly to any kind of rhythm. With his body, mind, and emotions under control, he is ready to grow in an integrated way. Dalcroze has likened the body to a musical instrument, which can best be served through rhythmics and its handmaiden, music. "Rhythmics," he once said, "aims at the bodily representation of musical values."

What distinguishes Dalcroze's rhythmic training from other forms of physical training is not only its musical aspects, but also its aesthetic value. Rhythmics, Dalcroze and his associates feel, may have a definite bearing on the development of aesthetic appreciation.

Dalcroze's influence has gone far beyond the confines of Geneva. There is a Dalcroze Institute in America, and many of our leading teachers' colleges conduct courses in eurhythmics. In Paris the influence of Dalcroze underlies two significant educational trends: "Education and Movement" and "Education and Rhythm." Both of these educational movements have many supporters. One other significant contribution of Dalcroze is that he has awakened many contemporary educators to the general importance of rhythmics in the child's all-round education. Fundamentally, of course, Dalcroze developed his system as an approach to music. By transforming music into motion he hoped to enable the pupil to experience it actively, and thereby make him more directly conscious of it. Other teachers, many of whom have studied under Dalcroze or his followers, do not always agree with their master. Some, for example, have felt that for young children some of the Dalcroze exercises are too complicated, and that as a result they some-

times inhibit a child's natural rhythm. Others—and particularly in America—feel that rhythmic education of a less systematic sort would be more desirable. In this respect the work of Ruth Doing is particularly notable.

The critics, of course, have not yet been convinced of the value of rhythmics—either the Dalcroze variety or any other kind. What they want is "objective evidence," and thus far this does not appear to be at hand. This lack, however, has not dimmed the glow of the Progressive's enthusiasm.

9. Other experimental schools

Between the turn of the last century and the beginning of the World War there had been developed a considerable body of new educational theory. But the number of schools attempting to make use of this theory was sadly small. As might be expected, the free public schools were not in a position to experiment with the newer procedures. Dedicated to mass methods and dominated by a conservative disciplinarian tradition, the public schools continued to teach in the old and familiar ways. Even in the experimental schools connected with the new schools of education that were being launched all over the United States, little experimental work was being carried on with the new ideas. The fact is that at the time most of these schools were occupying themselves with the study of technique involving statistics, intelligence tests, the learning processes in the various school subjects, and so on. When the movement for a more liberal type of education finally got into its stride, it came from the outside—from independent and eager teachers, from enthusiastic laymen, from hopeful parents desiring better schools for their children. In the years of the World War and after, scores of New Schools or Pro-

gressive Schools were established all over the country. Mrs. Marietta Johnson had founded her school at Fairhope, Alabama, in 1907, and for a number of years after 1913 had conducted a summer school for teachers at Greenwich, Connecticut. In 1912 came the Park School at Baltimore and the Shady Hill Country Day School at Germantown, Pennsylvania. In New York City, in 1913, Caroline Pratt established her Play School—now the City and Country School. Some time later (1915) in the same city came the Walden School under Margaret Naumburg. In the same year the wife of a Harvard professor established the Shady Hill School at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Oak Lane Country Day School came a year later at Philadelphia. The united efforts of a number of parents, who wished physical as well as mental growth for their children, brought into being the Unquowa School at Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1917. In the same year, Cora L. Williams founded her Institute for Creative Education in California in order to "demonstrate a group theory of education."

It was during this early florescence of Progressive Education that Charles W. Eliot penned his *Changes Needed in American Secondary Education* (1916), and Abraham Flexner his *Modern School* (1916). Both books were published by the General Education Board, which subsequently (1917) established the Lincoln School of Teachers College.

Another milestone on the highroad to the newer education was reached in 1919 when a group of liberal-minded educators united to form the Progressive Education Association for mutual help and discussion. Charles Eliot was its first president and he was followed by John Dewey, who is still honorary president.

Since the war, hundreds of Progressive Schools have

been organized throughout the land, and in many places the movement has been extended to some extent into the public schools.

a. Marietta Johnson's Fairhope School. One of the first of the new schools was organized in 1907 by Mrs. Marietta Johnson at Fairhope, Alabama. The school was known as the School of Organic Education. Before launching her experimental venture, Mrs. Johnson had been a teacher for some years in the elementary and secondary schools, and in the State Normal School of Minnesota. Interestingly enough, it was this experience that provided the stimulus for her doubts as to the value of conventional educational procedures for the general welfare of the child. When her own child was six years old, Mrs. Johnson moved to Fairhope and there she established her school. It started in a modest way in her own cottage. What she was seeking was a more flexible method of instruction adjusted to the needs of the individual child. The first day a half-dozen children attended. Today the school comprises several acres, and instead of one little cottage there are many buildings. They represent many grades, from the kindergarten through the college. The school, supported by voluntary contributions, has been kept free to the children of the town so that it might be available to them on the same basis as the public schools.

Besides running her school, Mrs. Johnson has found time to lecture extensively, expounding her educational ideas in many parts of the country. Her main theories on education, and some of the experiences in her school, have been described in her *Youth in a World of Men,* published in 1929.[11]

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[11] Johnson, Marietta, *Youth in a World of Men,* John Day, 1929.

The aim of the school "is to provide the right conditions of growth. Believing that education is life, it follows that the school program must be life-giving to body, mind, and spirit." What are the needs of the mind? What are the needs of the spirit? These are the questions that the school has been seeking to answer. And for its answer, the school has taken its cue from the nature of the child itself. In this sense it is a typical child-centered school.

What is Fairhope's concept of the nature of childhood? Briefly, Fairhope has operated on the basis that the child is unformed, unripe, immature. "He is in no condition to bear heavy responsibilities. He should not be subjected to much direction.

"We believe," the Fairhope sponsors have said, "that childhood is for childhood; that there are broad avenues of waste, and that it is the business of the school and the home to conserve every item of energy."

"The child," Mrs. Johnson agrees with Rousseau, "is not a little adult." In the child's development there is a time and place for everything. "The mother," declares Mrs. Johnson, "who takes such pride in her child's reading at an early age; who is so happy over the thought that the child can sew; who boasts of her child's reliability and responsibility, is misguided."[12] At Fairhope, anything which violates the order of development is banned. Reading and writing, consequently, have been postponed until the ninth or tenth year. For the same reason formal work has been delayed. To prevent self-consciousness and acceleration, children have been grouped chronologically. Quoting the Fairhope authorities once more, we note that they believe that "children should not *try* to grow mentally any more than they should *try* to be heavier

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

or taller. Acceleration during the early years often develops social and sex problems later. In order to preserve the integrity of the intellect, the interests of childhood must be respected. Children are interested in things of sense; they should make things, create things, work with their hands. Learning at this age should be through wholesome experiences. There should be less teaching of facts and more time for assimilation." [18]

At Fairhope, creativity has always been stressed. The largest and most important place on the grounds is the shop. Here several large rooms have been reserved for work in clay, painting, drawing, sketching, metal work, woodwork, and weaving. Folk dancing, singing, and nature study are other popular childhood activities. Nature study, let it be noted, has never been taught at Fairhope simply to provide children with an array of facts, but rather to stimulate their curiosity and to develop their power of investigation.

Traditional school grades, marks, and promotions have always been the essential concomitants of learning. Without them even the goodhearted Pestalozzi never could have taught. But during the last thirty years many educators have begun to doubt the wisdom of these academic insignia. Fairhope was among the first to decry the practice of having children work for grades. "It is futile," Fairhope believes, "to try to train for fine character, to teach morals, when children have been subjected to insincere experiences."

The Fairhope youngsters begin formal work with reading, writing, and spelling in the ninth or tenth year. Geography, history, and literature are taught as literature. There are no recitations, classes being conducted as an open discussion. There are, of course, the usual creative

[18] Quoted from a Fairhope bulletin.

subjects. At fourteen, the young people "automatically pass into the high school." The process throughout stresses the social, all work being conducted in the freest possible social atmosphere. "Wise control and guidance is needed at this uncertain stage of growth. Four years of the most serious, earnest work in science, history, mathematics, literature and language is given in the high school with folk dancing, music, arts, and woodwork."

Interestingly enough, the high school could not dispense with examinations, but their reason for being is not the conventional one. It is rather "to help the student express himself and to indicate the quality of the instruction, but in no case to determine the student's ability to 'pass.' "

In summing up the Fairhope Idea of Organic Education these points should be noted:

1. Fixed furniture in the school has been replaced by chairs and tables and movable furniture.
2. Fairhope consciously has tried to make all school work minister to the health of the child's nervous system. For this reason, formal reading and writing have been postponed until the child is eight or nine years old.
3. Specialization for the undeveloped child is not permitted.
4. External efficiency in any skill or learning is minimized.
5. To preserve the union of the intellectual and emotional life, "not only the creative handwork must be provided, but the purposefulness and initiative of the children be respected."
6. For the spirit, lack of self-consciousness is essential. All external demands, with external awards, are excluded.
7. Grading, marking, and promotion tend to develop double motives. The idea of grouping based on achievement is impossible.
8. Since children must be grouped for convenience, and since "grouping according to chronological age tends to eliminate self-consciousness either of superiority or inferiority, this is the method adopted."
9. There is no do-as-you-please program. The new education controls and guides the child, but strives to have this guiding and controlling determined by the child's needs rather than the convenience of the adult.
10. "The new education believes that society owes all children

guidance, control, instruction, association, and inspiration, through the primary, elementary, high school and college phases of growth. The whole question becomes, what are the needs of the body, the mind, and the spirit? . . . . The new education identifies education and growth. It has small eye to the future, and no eye to the market. It is concentrated upon immediate human ends. Growth is for growth. The process and the end are one."

b. **Edward Yeomans' Ojai Valley School.** In 1921 there appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* a series of keen and interesting observations on our schools. These articles subsequently took the form of a book. Its title, *Shackled Youth,* summarized the author's view of the result of our conventional brand of education. The book's creator, Edward Yeomans, a business man, had been active as a member of the Winnetka, Illinois, School Board. Full of zeal for a better sort of education, he had been instrumental in getting the Board to permit a certain amount of experimentation with new educational procedures in the Winnetka public schools. When he retired, Yeomans went to California. There, in the lovely Ojai Valley, he established (1923) a school dedicated to educational reform.

Its aims were numerous and harmonized with the newer educational ideals. Thus it sought:

To keep alive the questioning attitude of mind found in all normal children.

To encourage experimentation with ideas as well as with materials and thereby produce individual and independent thinkers.

To provide an outlet for all creative impulses.

To develop the body as a strong, flexible, and beautiful medium for the expression of rhythm, poise, and dignity through the ancient art of dancing.

To emphasize the profound value of art in life.

To give music as high a place as any subject, not regarding it as a mere decoration, but as an indispensable part of human well-being.

To build up an appreciation of and zest for high standards in work and in behavior.

To secure a happy spirit of co-operation, of order, and of self-help, and steadily to reduce the necessity of competition as a stimulus to effort.

To implant interests of such intensity and of so firm a roolage that the disintegrating diversions of modern society may never menace character.

Experimental zeal has always characterized the Ojai Valley School, one of its prime purposes being "to make a contribution to the cause of elementary education."

Like the celebrated Country Home Schools throughout Europe, this California school has laid considerable stress on environment. "Children," its guiding spirits have declared, "are too continuously denied in both school and home a sense of space and quiet and a leisure to grow in, not a lazy leisure, but the leisure of all growing things." So often it has been casually assumed that this ends with infancy. "But after the emotional ego comes forward, approximately at seven years, the balance between activity and leisure, between group interests and complete privacy must be maintained, if these emotional experiences are to be transformed into fibre and not discharged into air." Consequently, the Ojai Valley School has been deliberately set in the country. In the mild and pleasant climate of the Valley, the school has the added benefit of escaping the shut-in-ness of the usual winter school.

The Ojai Valley School has applied its program of social activities on a grand scale by carrying these beyond its grounds out into the community. As the result of its interest in folk dancing, there was established a village Folk Dance Society for adults. Through the School's influence, moreover, a Community Arts Center was organized in the village for such activities as weaving, woodwork, basketry, etching, and designing. A Village Chorus was created with the help of the school's music teacher.

Meeting about once a week to sing, the group occasionally gives concerts during the year.

In the realization that the best sort of education requires the understanding co-operation of the home, Ojai Valley has sought to enlist the aid of parents in the education of their children. A parents' study class, planned and run by the parents themselves, has been a regular part of the school's work. Parents have always been hospitably received by the school, with the result that they are not only frequent visitors but constant participators in some of its many activities. Fathers and mothers have volunteered to act on committees for decoration, costume-making for dramatic work, for library work, and so on.

Embracing the idea that education should proceed through forms of life worth living for their own sakes, the Ojai Valley School has offered a variety of activities that would make even the most liberal nineteenth-century school reformer gasp with astonishment. Shops have been installed for woodworking, textile-making, and modeling. There are painting and drawing, music and dramatics, folk dancing and rhythmics. There are gardening and nature study, games and athletics, horseback-riding, hiking, camping, and exploration of the surrounding environs. The school issues a paper edited by the children themselves. There is a first-rate laboratory for science work. Best of all, there are two ponds to delight the children who want to sail boats or build harbors and wharves and lighthouses. All these Yeomans has deemed vital aspects of the child's daily life.

Ojai Valley has accepted and preached the idea that education should be a joyful process. With Froebel it has asserted that children should be happy. With the contemporary Swiss educator, Willi Schohaus, it has tried to banish the dark places of education. "No greater serv-

ice can be rendered by a school to its pupils than that of unfolding for them the joys that are to be found all about them, in their daily work, in nature, in their association with others, and within themselves." To make this ideal a fact, the school has stressed its social nature. Its steadfast goal has been a small co-operative community, where the spirit of rivalry and competition has been replaced by one of equality and good companionship between pupils and teachers. The dark clouds of punishments, marks, and examinations have been dispelled. Fear has been banished and with its exit the road to individuality has been opened.

Accepting the pragmatist's view of a changing society, Ojai Valley has made its curriculum flexible and adjustable. It is a curriculum that changes with the school and with society. The drilling of an oil well in the neighborhood, for example, was made the basis of a lively project. The child's studies are made real by relating them as far as possible to the school's activities and occupations. The youngster, moreover, is encouraged to marshal all available sources of information—the library, fellow students, teachers, and workers in the various fields outside of school.

Out of the reconstructed educational theory fashioned by Dewey, Kilpatrick, and other twentieth-century school reformers has come the realization that the real aim of education is the all-round growth of the child. The body, mind, will, spirit, and emotions all must be developed and integrated in cumulative experience. The result has been that while the traditional formal and intellectual subjects have become less and less dominant, the newer activities of music, dancing, drawing, and painting have become more and more significant. Creative self-expression has become an important part of the new procedures.

At Ojai Valley considerable attention has been given to music, which, it is held, is not to be treated "simply as a pleasant thing to listen to." It is, rather, an "experience in which you participate, or lose more than you can afford to lose." Launched with singing, music at Ojai Valley goes into rhythms and singing games, then into ballads and chorals. At bottom the aim has been to secure a love of good music and to create a foundation of taste.

Dancing and rhythmics, as has been suggested, have been given much attention. Here the dominant influence has come from G. Stanley Hall, who long ago called for the revival of dancing as a much-needed elixir to give poise to the nerves, school the emotions, strengthen the will, and "harmonize the feelings and the intellect which supports them."

Without handwork, a school like Ojai Valley would be like the sea without water. From the lowest grade to the highest, all children participate in some kind of shopwork. And this has included the girls as well as the boys. So arranged that a child may choose the material in which he wishes to work, the shop is really an open and ever present invitation to the child to find himself, and to develop his own tastes in the crafts. The children work individually or in groups. Woodworking, clay-modeling, bookbinding, metalworking, leatherworking, weaving, basketry, painting and drawing, and costume-designing are just a few of their activities. In the shop there is also a kiln where the youngsters have carried out both bisque and glaze firing.

Nor has practical work been overlooked, constructive work on the school grounds being one of the major activities. The pupils have been encouraged to add something material to the school, for in this way it is considered

as really belonging to them. Interesting are some of the many things the children have built: a playhouse, an aquarium, sidewalks, houses and sheds for animals and athletic apparatus, a barbecue pit. Attention also is bestowed on gardening.

"Possibly no other occupation," Yeomans believes, "will so quickly give the child the return for effort rightly expended as that of gardening. In gardening, as in all construction work, the product of the child's work stares him in the face."

Ojai Valley has taken full advantage of its natural environment and its vast storehouse of material. The countryside has become the children's great textbook. Direct observation has been harnessed to the living world. The children watch trees, flowers, birds, and insects; they collect minerals, fossils, and plants. Records are kept in the form of written statements, drawings, and paintings. Located in a magnificent environment, the school has tried to inspire the child with the omnipresent grandeur of nature.

Not only do these natural features challenge attention; they mean something very definite and important in the life of the community, both the school community and the larger Ojai community. After the hot, dry months of summer, we long for the rains to come; and after the rains, which usually begin in October and November, we watch the sudden change in the landscape, the greenness and the flowers. We can almost see the grass grow. The streambeds come to life again, and rain and snow in the high mountains store up water for irrigation in the dry season. In fact, spring is here when people in a northern climate are preparing for winter.

Southern California, as is well known, is rich in the historical heritage of Old Spain. Linguistically, it reveals itself in the Spanish names of cities and rivers, roads and mountains. It lingers in the architecture which dots the landscape. Only a century ago, Indians still dwelt in

Ojai, and they left behind them many a memento. Often a freshly plowed field will yield treasures of arrowheads, axheads, mortars, and wampums. All these remnants of a vanished era have been related to the child's education. It has become the "open avenue to the beginnings of American history."

Not only does California offer the educator many scenic advantages, but its climate makes outdoor activities possible throughout the year. Play, athletics, horseback-riding, and hikes may be enjoyed the year around. Everybody, regardless of ability, is expected to take part in athletics. But oddly enough, there is no school team. The reason for this is that the activity itself is the thing, and not the rivalry and competition that may come out of it. Achievement rather than victory is the goal.

Twice a week there is an assembly of all the pupils and teachers. Sometimes plays are presented. Sometimes there are exhibits of shopwork or a show of the children's pets. There is always singing and often folk dancing. Sometimes outsiders participate. The Ojai children have listened to a South American butterfly collector, a bird expert, a Brahman from India, a railroad conductor from Boston. The assemblies are usually lively affairs. "We have had a stock herder tell us about sheep and cattle herding while his dog sat on the stage beside him." Like some of the new schools in Europe, sometimes the entire school has convened to consider various topics of interest to the school community.

10. The Associated Experimental Schools

The work of Dewey and the hosts of educational pioneers directly and indirectly inspired by him was significant not only because it revealed the flaws in the old disciplinarian form of education, but also because it

demonstrated the real need of the experimental school. While the findings of these schools have filtered into the public school but slowly, just the same they have a very real reason for being. The fact that school control in America is local rather than national, that it is decentralized rather than centralized, and that it does not deny private initiative has tended to make this country a paradise for pedagogical experimentation. Curiously enough, the economic depression of the '30's did not crush this spirit of experimentation. On the contrary, instead of discouraging educators—in the face of budget cuts, economy and retrenchment, and a general onslaught against what were called educational "fads and frills"—new experimental schools continued to appear. In 1934 a half-dozen schools located in the Metropolitan Area of New York, all of which had been in existence for some time, joined in an organization known as the Associated Experimental Schools for the purpose of making their work more valuable and influential. The six schools thus associated were the City and Country School,[14] the Harriet Johnson Nursery, the Little Red School House, the Walden School, the Hessian Hills School, and the Manumit School. A foundation grant made it possible to survey these schools systematically. While the schools were thus under the critical spotlight, an educational platform for the association was drawn up by a representative from each school. Since the schools varied considerably in many respects, perfect agreement naturally was impossible. However, on five points there was no dissension, thus:

1. They are coeducational, non-profit-making, and without any race discrimination.

[14] For most of the data on the Associated Experimental Schools I am indebted to Mrs. Clara Skiles, Instructor of Education at New York University, School of Education.

2. They seek to establish a co-operative rather than a competitive basis for work; hence they reject marks, rewards, or honors; instead, they gauge their educational success by the wealth of the child's experiences and not by his acquisition of factual information.

3. They give their children experiences in *real* work and teach them respect for manual as well as intellectual work.

4. The schools are democratically organized, teachers sharing in the budget planning, hiring and firing, curriculum making, and in administrative matters generally.

5. They encourage the teachers to affiliate with the Teachers Union, as well as to participate in political, economic, social, and civic movements working towards social progress

Experimental in the sense that they believe experimentation to be an essential tool for learning, these schools evaluate their children's progress by comparing them with their past performances.

The basis of their procedure is threefold: (1) They look upon learning as a process of growth, not simply an absorption of facts; (2) they feel that schools should concern themselves with the child's *whole* growth—physical, emotional, and social, as well as intellectual; (3) they believe that schools should adapt themselves to the child's total needs at each stage of his development; hence they accept the pace at which a child works when he is permitted to make his own discoveries and draw his own conclusions. This pace is obviously and necessarily a slower process than when he swallows ready-made deductions.

Four factors have been borne in mind by these schools in the organization of their curricula. The curriculum, they feel, should (1) allow the child time to reflect so that he may discover, develop, and express his own meanings and relationships. For this reason the schools employ laboratory methods, excursions, source materials, and discussions; (2) give the children *real jobs* requiring industry and techniques and having *social meaning* for them

and the school; (3) broaden the child's horizon, deepen his understanding of human society, and enlarge his capacities for co-operative action; (4) afford the child opportunities for creative work and expression in music, dancing, drama, painting, literature, and sculpture as an integral part of the school day. Here, however, interest is to be in the process rather than the product.

The Associated Experimental Schools deem it essential to achieve a consistent attitude toward the child's development among the adults comprising their environment at home and at school. Working in co-operation with parents, every teacher seeks their help, trying to make clear what is behind the philosophy and methods used in the school. In essence, the schools strive to be democratic enterprises in which teachers, parents, and children work toward a common end.

a. **The Bureau of Educational Experiments.** The Bureau of Educational Experiments was organized some twenty years ago by a small group of teachers of some of these schools. With the aid of physicians and psychologists, they planned to gather, study, and share useful information about progressive educational practices. At the outset the City and Country School of New York City was used in this work, and from 1916 to 1930 it functioned as a laboratory for the study of children's growth between the ages of three and thirteen. From 1919 to 1930 the Harriet Johnson School, also of New York City, was used to study the mental processes of children between the ages of fourteen months and five years.

b. **The City and Country School.** This school is one of the oldest experimental schools in the United States, having been founded in 1914 by Caroline Pratt, who is still its principal. The school is for boys and girls ranging in age from three to fourteen. Of these the three-

and four-year-olds attend for a half day, the others for a full day. All groups have an outdoor period morning and afternoon. Under the guidance of special teachers, all children have opportunities for work in music, rhythmics, cooking, science, painting, modeling, and shopwork. Accepting that part of pragmatism which puts a premium on experimentation, the school encourages experimentation *by* the child. The children are classified in chronological groups rather than in grades, the purpose being to afford them the daily companionship of their peers in maturity. Individual attention is possible because each group is small and there are many special teachers. Here, too, particular stress is given to practical work, each group above that of the seven-year-olds having a job which fills a definite need in the school—and for which, furthermore, the group is paid. These jobs, incidentally, form the kernel of interest behind the children's academic work throughout the year. As might be expected, all sorts of special responsibilities are given the youngsters. Thus, the eight-year-olds operate the school post office; the nine-year-olds have charge of the school supply store—they buy and sell school supplies for the whole school. Hand-printing of reading materials for the younger groups is entrusted to the ten-year-olds. And so it goes on through the school. To do all this work efficiently the children are confronted with the practical need of mastering fundamental skills—to run a store, for instance, they must be on good terms with practical arithmetic. Printing reading matter without a knowledge of spelling and writing would be hard work. Not only do the children understand the need for these skills; they are even willing to work hard in order to master them.

c. The Harriet Johnson Nursery School. It was the Bureau of Educational Experiments that launched the

Harriet Johnson Nursery School in 1919. Its founder, Harriet Johnson, was convinced that children achieve their deepest satisfactions through play. Believing, furthermore, that these play interests can be harnessed to a program of health, Harriet Johnson carefully protected the child's play, endeavoring to make it yield a minimum of frustration and inhibition and a maximum of power and expression. To this day, the school has continued to offer the child the most meaningful play opportunities. Though the boys and girls attending the school are only tots ranging in age from two to five, they participate in all sorts of activities. Trips through the school and the neighborhood are planned for them. Not only do these trips help to satisfy the children's natural interest in their environs, but at the same time they afford marvelous opportunities to obtain those things needed so vitally in their play—such things as boards and boxes, paints and crayons, and the like.

From its inception the school has carried on an efficient research program. The process and rate of maturing in young children has received particular attention, and has included such subjects as children's drawings and block buildings, the nature of aggression, thumbsucking, and the like.

For the past few years, moreover, the school has been one of the so-called Co-operating Schools, admitting student teachers from the Co-operative School for Teachers for actual assistance and training in the classroom.

d. **The Little Red School House.** A product of the educational experiment run for eleven years in the public schools of New York City by the Public Education Association, the Little Red School House has concentrated on those problems that spring from public education. There

are no ideal conditions. Classes are large (32 children) but the budget is small. Another essential characteristic of the school is the deliberate selection of a democratic group of children. All the academic subjects are taught—and as efficiently as possible. Beyond the fourth grade, the children are at all times expected to meet the grade standards and to reach or surpass age norms in standardized achievement tests. Formal work is not ushered in until the second year, though in the first year the children are familiarized, through use, with concrete numbers. Stress is put on language as a form of expression, before the technique of reading is introduced. A teacher specializing in the handling of reading difficulties and personality problems is in charge of a class dealing with these difficulties, or any other problems that make school work difficult. For the first three years, school work is based largely on a study of the environment through the medium of weekly trips. Later on in the subsequent grades, observation is supplemented by the use of libraries, museums, and the like. Though the school is bound by its public-school nature, it makes the most of music and rhythms, dramatics, painting, modeling, and the handicrafts, all of which play a significant part in the curriculum for children of all ages.

The school's basic idea is to let the children live and experience in an atmosphere of co-operation rather than competition. Experience rather than books is the essence of the learning process. Books, of course, are used, but their use is to clarify and extend experience; they are not to be slavishly followed or memorized. Though the classes are large, the method of study is individual research and conferences. Indeed, if the Little Red School House has demonstrated anything of significance, it is the

fact that, despite the usual handicaps found in the conventional setup, it is still possible to liberalize learning and to make it approximate the ideals of the newer theory.

e. The Walden School. Founded about a quarter of a century ago (1915) by Margaret Naumburg, the Walden School began its career as an educational experiment. Its enrollment comprised a small group of three-year-olds. Among other things, the school's founders hoped to study the life and growth of children in an environment that was carefully planned for creative activity and freedom of school relations. Individual adjustment and socialization were the kernels of the Walden aim.

"The Walden School," says its founder, "believes in the social function of the school towards the creation of a more harmonious and equitable future society, and it believes in the development of individual potentials as the swiftest means of insuring just such a socialization."[15] The school has, of course, emerged from its early groping days, having grown into a full-fledged school including a nursery and complete elementary and secondary divisions.

Walden is an all-day school. Two reasons prompted this type of organization. In the first place, since children are together for a much greater part of the day than in the ordinary school, they are able to share a great many more interests and activities than otherwise. Living in a world of their own, they not only study together, but they also work and play, sleep, and eat together. For another thing, the Walden all-day plan was in part an attempt to balance the city child's day somewhat more harmoniously. The control and guidance of trained and sympathetic teachers were to take the place of the super-

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[15] Naumburg, Margaret, "The Walden School," *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, p. 333.

vision of misguided and, at times, apathetic maids and governesses, not to mention neglectful parents.

Like most experimental schools, Walden has cast out the traditional curriculum. To provide better conditions for sound growth, the conventional curriculum is steadily altered, with arts, crafts, and physical activities being stressed. Grammar, mathematics, and foreign languages surrender ground to creative activities. Briefly, what the school has sought is a balanced diet tending to develop the child's physical, emotional, and intellectual powers. The curriculum, moreover, is closely related to the special organization of the school.

"To those accustomed to the use of more formal school programs, it may seem difficult to envisage a curriculum that cannot be isolated from that particular school organization with which it grew. But the process of developing the program of such an experimental school is exactly the reverse of the traditional method. Instead of preparing a curriculum to place in a school organization, our school started with the attitude of allowing a form to evolve from the needs of the children. . . . . Our chief aim was to develop the threefold nature of each child, individually. We believed that . . . . the social aspects of education would follow naturally." [16]

During the school's first five years it was found that if young children (aged from two to four) were emotionally adjusted and integrated, they needed no real stimulus from adults to become socialized. Answering their inner urges, they would seek activities of their own accord. If, on the contrary, they lacked emotional adjustment, then their capacity for social development was seriously hampered. Such children could not function properly in the social life of their school group. These findings, Walden

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

felt, justify its faith in trying out a "flexible form in which the possibilities of a new program could be explored."

Today, Walden urges the child to begin with the subjects that arouse his deepest interest, each child having an unquestioned right to be in that class in which he will best develop. That being the case, examinations are obviously not the important yardstick for placement.

Walden always has been especially interested in the study of behavior problems and in the growth of personality, and to this study it has harnessed the findings of psychoanalysis and other schools of mental hygiene.

The home has been brought into the school's educational program, not alone through the usual parents' meetings but more directly by conferences between parent and teacher, or parent and psychologist.

As has been indicated, Walden includes a high school in its organization. It is, moreover, a high school which is frankly an experimental school. While the high school prepares its pupils for college entrance, at the same time it clings to its liberal ideals. "Wise guidance," it feels, "should eliminate those who have to be pushed and shoved into college because their fathers have a certain income, but who have no interest or ability for higher academic study."[17] In the high school, as in the lower Walden schools, initiative and independent thinking have been put above the absorption of knowledge. It is definitely a place designed to meet the complex intellectual, emotional, and physical needs of the adolescent. Here the student relates himself to the adult world. Here he ponders over the inscrutable interrelationships between man and the universe. Here he enters into the rich acres

[17] Politzer, Margaret, "The Experimental High School," *Progressive Education*, 1928, p. 309.

of science, aesthetics, and religion. The social order, with its immense and challenging political, social, and economic problems, engages his attention. True to its ideals, Walden encourages its children to express themselves freely and naturally. No subject is taboo; no honest opinion is denied. Diversity rather than uniformity is the keynote. Always the development of individuality is stressed. Within the limits of the course prescribed, students have done individual research in many fields.

f. Hessian Hills School. Located on the Hudson River not far from the roaring city of New York, Hessian Hills is a co-operative, parent-owned school. Like many another experimental school, it came into being in a modest way, having been founded in 1928 by two teachers—one from the Walden School and one from the City and Country School—for their own children. Soon it outgrew its small beginnings, developing into a community undertaking, with several acres of land, a new modernistic building, and a Children's House. The school is now owned by the Hessian Hills School Association, consisting of the staff of the school and the parents.

Rather interesting is the school's democratic administration. Actually this is conducted by the teaching staff, which employs teachers, plans the budget, and outlines the curriculum. Through their Council, the children share in school administration. On this body, each group is represented, beginning with the seven-year-olds. The Council's work is very real, and it shares responsibility with the staff for the care of the school grounds, buildings, the making of regulations, the planning of assemblies, and so on.

An integral part of the curriculum, the arts and crafts play an important role at Hessian Hills. Even the

youngest child participates in work in the shop and studio, and engages in music, dancing, and drama. The stress is on the *process* rather than on the product. In a country environment, nature study obviously and inevitably becomes significant. Throughout the school, however, considerable attention is given to science.

Above the preschool every group is responsible for some specific job essential for the running of the school. Thus, some youngsters take care of the library and others work in the garden, while some act as office messengers. There are chickens and other animals to be taken care of, lunches to be served, and an orchard to be cared for—its apples marketed or transformed into cider.

Wherever possible, the social studies are connected with the child's immediate and present world, the attempt here being to lead the child through his interest in the world about him to an understanding of the larger human society.

From its beginning Hessian Hills always has made a point of encouraging parents to co-operate with the school. Despite the fact that it is a private school, Hessian Hills often has been confronted by an annual deficit, which is due to the fact that the number of pay-students has not always been sufficient to offset the number of free students. Sometimes the deficit has soared into several thousand dollars. In trying to effect some sort of financial balance, parents have co-operated vigorously with the school. Rummage sales have been held and these have on several occasions netted more than a thousand dollars. There also has been a series of lectures and entertainments at which some of the parents and neighbors—such as Max Eastman, Stuart Chase, Floyd Dell, and others—have spoken. For some years the parents of Hessian Hills pupils have held exhibits and book sales of a selected list

of children's books. Other ways in which these active parents have tried to raise money for the hard-pressed school are by arranging dances and entertainments—and even by the raffling off of a Chevrolet.

But the parents have been interested in other matters besides raising money, important as this may have been. For example, a committee of parents, one of them a skilled dietician, planned hot meals for the children. With the aid of two mothers each day and a paid helper—who received fifteen dollars a week—the committee was able to feed more than seventy children and from ten to fifteen teachers. This has been a non-profit venture, meals having been sold for as low as thirty-five cents.

There is also an active grounds committee, which strives to get all the parents out for a day's work on one or two Saturdays and Sundays in the fall. The parents usually bring their lunches and do hard—and in some cases, unaccustomed—labor in clearing brush and cleaning up.

g. **Manumit, a school on a farm.** Manumit School is a boarding school, situated on a 175-acre farm in Pawling, Dutchess County, New York. Here everyone works, from the youngest, who plants lettuce and tomato seeds in the cold-frame in the early spring, to the oldest, who harrows and plows. Everybody weeds and harvests, cuts corn and rakes hay into piles, and cares for the stock.

But it must not be supposed that Manumit is an agricultural school seeking to train nascent farmers. Its aim, rather, is to devise projects, curricula, and procedures that may be used advantageously by other schools, both public and private.

Here, too, stress is put on practical work, a job essential to the community being the center of each group's curriculum. One group, for example, operates the school's co-operative store. Another assumes full charge of the

laying flock of some three hundred chickens. Another group runs the co-operative gas station. The thirteen-year-olds plan the meals and run the dining room. For these jobs each group is paid. The fact that within the school there are two genuine co-operatives is significant, a deliberate attempt being made to familiarize the children with the co-operative's goals and practices. Manumit has related its work frequently to the problems confronting the consumer. Here the laboratory, the newspaper, radio, and textbook have been put to work. Breads, canned goods, drugs, and textiles—articles that are in daily use and sold in the co-operative store—have been analyzed, evaluated, and compared.

True to its aim of developing the whole child, Manumit has balanced its curriculum. Thus, besides the usual studies and the practical work already described, there are music, dancing, painting, shopwork, nature study, trips and excursions, and creative writing. During the year the children write and produce their own plays, which generally spring from their studies in history. The subjects portrayed range from Pasteur to Anne Hutchinson, from the Spanish War to the League of Nations.

11. Modernizing the public school

On the whole, the advance of the American public school in the twentieth century does not present a picture comparable to that of the more or less independent experimental school. Democratic living, with its stress on individual development, co-operative planning and working, and real functional activities, is still quite rare. The concept of education in most of the contemporary American public schools is still to a large extent "schooling" in the old and traditional sense. Most public schools, of course, are subject to much more pressure than are the

Progressive Schools. The educational and political complexion of public schools, operated under local initiative and control, usually preclude the sweeping innovations that are possible in the independent experimental school. Most reforms in the public school have been slow and piecemeal. And always they have been the result of a co-operative leadership of farsighted and resourceful school administrators, supervisors, teachers, parents, and children. It is under such leadership that progressive communities have been able to emancipate their public school from the fetters of tradition. The names of such communities are not too numerous, but they spread throughout the republic from Los Angeles, California, to Bronxville, New York, from Winnetka, Illinois, to Raleigh, North Carolina. An analytical study of the nation's foremost elementary schools reveals traces of a definite evolution in educational practice towards sound child growth and development. Curricular reports and articles in educational periodicals are ample evidence of this trend. Observation discloses that in many American cities education is going through a transition. Systems are being scrutinized and evaluated. The prevalent social and political patterns of the localities and states are challenging education's purpose, scope, and range of service. As usual, the cost of public education is under constant fire, with the result that many desirable educational reconstructions have been slowed up or even completely stopped. On the other hand, many forward-looking Americans are questioning the cost of America's demoralized and misfit children.

12. Comparison of the Old or Traditional School and the New or Progressive School

a. The Traditional School. The Old School tended

to put a heavy stress on knowledge. From time immemorial, schools have given a front place to the acquisition of facts. Educational reformers occasionally arose to protest, but on the whole, up to fairly recent times, knowledge continued to be one of the school's main goals. At the turn of the century, youngsters in the State of New York were asked by their Regents to give an account of the Jugurthine War; to describe the battle of Towton; to name the bones of the left upper extremity; to describe earthquakes, the drainage of South Africa, and the bed of the Atlantic Ocean. Schoolmasters, believing that education is knowledge—and that knowledge is power—conclude, logically enough, that the more you know the better educated you are. Hence their main task was to present to the learner an array of facts and to make sure that these were learned and remembered. Drill, review, and frequent tests were inevitably necessary to make facts stick with the learner. Naturally enough, such education put a mighty burden on the memory. Moreover, since the memorizing process happened to be chiefly of a mechanical sort, the knowledge which the pupil finally obtained was usually lacking in the juices of life. In the end, subject matter assumed the unimaginative guise of a well-built outline, a skeleton of labeled and classified parts. Furthermore, such knowledge was generally not functional. It seldom stirred the pupil's individual thinking and equally seldom did it move his creative impulses, Due to the stress it gave to the accumulation and storage of facts, the traditional school sometimes has been described in the pedagogical writings as a *knowledge school.*

Intellectualization, however, was not the only blemish of the traditional school. There were, indeed, many other faults, as witness: (1) Since instruction put a premium on knowledge, inadequate consideration was given

to the other phases of personality. (2) The significant fact that the normal child is an active rather than an intellectual animal, though accepted and acclaimed by many educational reformers ever since the days of Rousseau, nonetheless found little application in practice. The child was expected to be quiet and receptive rather than active and expressive. (3) Instruction was built mainly around the senses of sight and hearing, and gave little or no consideration to the educational value of self-activity. (4) The teacher, on the other hand, was very active. He organized and presented his subject. He explained and assigned. He questioned, and expected answers. He drilled, tested, and gave marks. His was a question-and-answer regime, and under it class discussions, socialized recitations, projects—all of which demand greater pupil activity—could not flourish. (5) The teacher's question was the kernel of the recitation. Questions, suggestions, or criticisms emanating from the learners were not welcome, and sometimes, indeed, were even deemed presumptuous. (6) The usual relationship between teacher and pupil was that of ruler and subject. The teacher's will was supreme. His word was command. Discipline in the main was artificial. The idea of pupil self-government was, of course, not cherished. (7) Children were expected to accept authority. This rested either in the teacher or in the textbook. Individual thought, judgment, and expression on the part of the pupils were not fostered. (8) The traditional school was not sufficiently socialized. Despite the dicta of Froebel, Pestalozzi, and others, the school had not developed into a dynamic society whose members were conscious of any interrelationships. In the classroom, indeed, much was done to crush the communal feeling. Talking, unhampered locomotion, and mutual help on the part of pupils,

as found in some modern schools, were strictly under the ban. (9) Inadequate attention was given to individual ability. Performance requirements were standardized to meet the needs of the average. Theoretically every student in a given class was expected to reach the same educational level at a given time. In demanding such a standardized performance from its students, the traditional school failed to take into account individual likes and dislikes. It failed to consider the multifarious experiences reaped by pupils outside of school. And finally, it failed to heed the myriads of special needs of both the gifted and the dull pupil. (10) Education was looked upon mainly as preparation for life—adult life. To the child this represented something vague and far away. On this basis, education was not sufficiently connected with the child's own experiences. It was not child-centered.

Despite its numerous faults, the old-time school was not quite as bad as some of its modern adversaries would have us believe. Its virtues, however, are not as numerous as its faults. The former may be summarized thus: (1) One of its most valuable characteristics was its stress in the development of a moral personality in its pupils. Though the methods it used to develop character are today under heavy fire, its aim, nevertheless, was high. Without such an aim and a serious attempt to realize it, even the most up-to-the-minute school obviously is imperfect. (2) Instruction in the traditional school on the whole was quite thorough—though often tyrannical. Exactness was one of the old school's fetishes. The youngsters who snared their diplomas, if they were normal in intellect, were usually quite proficient. Unfortunately, however, not all youngsters were normal, and hence were never reached by the traditional

procedures. (3) The old school sought to develop some valuable attitudes, habits, and ideals—such as effort, industry, tidiness, and punctuality.

b. The Twentieth-Century School. The New School is primarily a protest against the Old School. As such, a good part of it has been launched by educational reformers rather than by the rank and file of practical schoolmasters. Horne has interpreted it as "a theory, a practice, and a spirit." It is, he says, "a body of recent educational theory; this theory has found expression in occasional, sporadic practice, usually in private, sometimes in public schools; this theory and practice stress the needs of childhood and the spirit of freedom."[18] While it is difficult to put the new education under the glass and analyze it very sharply, certain general characteristics still show themselves in virtually all the schools influenced by the movement.

Freedom. True to the spirit of freedom, the new school favors pupil freedom. The emphasis, of course, varies considerably. After the World War, for example, the Hamburg Community Schools (now defunct) cast their lot with chaos—if necessary—as opposed to the conventional and formalized classroom order. In general the stress laid on freedom is a revolt against the standardization which the school has hung on its pupils. The new school would wipe out all kinds of superimposed and unnecessary restrictions. Its aim here is to give the growing child a chance to develop in his own way as far as possible. From this trend the pupil has plucked such boons as the right to move about the classroom at will, to form natural groups, to talk, to choose his own subjects, to handle objects, to have a voice in student disciplinary

[18] Horne, H. H., *This New Education*, The Abingdon Press, 1931, p. 53.

matters, and to take a large and active part, in a general way, in his class and school affairs. Behind this emphasis on pupil freedom lies the theory that liberty generates self-discipline and stimulates a sense of responsibility.

Activity. The late W. A. Lay, of Germany, baptized the New School an activity or doing school (*Tatschule*).[19] The proponents of this school hold, with the Swiss Ferrière, that "learning takes place in the response." According to this idea, a teacher's main task is to stimulate the pupil. Or to put it another way, a teacher at best can only teach; and what learning the child actually achieves is garnered through his own doing. When these premises are applied in the school room, learning obviously must become active. Following such a procedure, what becomes important is not the gathering and storing of facts, but rather their use and application. As in the Old School, pupils in the activity school are seeking knowledge—not, however, as an end in itself, but rather as a means to something else. They gain their knowledge, moreover, not by passive absorption but by active participation or doing.

Experience the basis of the curriculum. The school curriculum's fundamental basis centers in experiences which are typical of the community's living. Those activities vitally necessary in meeting the daily needs of a group or several groups are provided, each age group shaping its plans and course to meet the needs and abilities of the children. Each child is expected to deal with vital things in successive and cumulative stages.

Socialization. The New School is looked upon as a living society, wherein typical life situations are reproduced. Thus we find schools with a bank, a post office,

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[19] Lay, W. A., *Experimental Pedagogy,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936.

a school store, and a school newspaper, besides the usual congeries of squads, clubs, and teams. The child's communal conscience is awakened and stirred. More than ever, classwork has taken on the mien of a vast co-operative enterprise. Children are allowed to discuss their problems with one another, and even to give and receive help. Student self-government of a very real kind is, of course, encouraged. The four walls of the school, moreover, are removed to allow the children to gain social experiences in factories, slums, libraries, housing, welfare agencies, recreation centers, shops, and the like. Behind all this emphasis on the social lies the proposition so well put by John Dewey: "Knowledge that is worthy of being called knowledge, training of the intellect that is sure to amount to anything, is obtained only by participating in activities of social life."

Creative expression. Harnessing the child's creative urge to education, the New School stresses what are known as creative activities. Dramatics, including both the writing and production of plays, story-writing and story-telling, and pupil lectures are featured. Art, music, and dancing also are included—not for training but for self-expression. The same may be said for play, rhythmics, and handiwork. The aim is not to develop artists or dramatists, musicians or craftsmen, but rather to make education as rich and rounded as possible.

Recognition of the individual. Though the new type of school strives to socialize its pupils, each child is regarded as a unique person requiring special individual treatment. This is perhaps the only system under which freedom, self-activity, and creative work can properly flourish. In the New Schools, consequently, there is much individual instruction, much individual initiative, and much self-education. Courses and methods are neces-

sarily elastic, since they must be adjusted to the child's individual needs and abilities. The pedagogic consideration and recognition of the learner's individuality stand out sharply in contrast to the more conventional type of mass instruction.

Child study. The New School subscribes to Ellen Key's well-known statement that this is the "century of the child." Education in the New School is what some scientific educators have preferred to call "paido-centric." That is to say, it is "child-centered." German educators have described it as *vom Kinde aus*—from the child outward. In essence this simply means that education should be shaped by the child's nature and needs. This being so, then plainly a thorough understanding of the child becomes imperative. It is this need of understanding the child and his nature that has stimulated the development of modern scientific child study. This, as is well known, seeks accurate and reliable data about the child's physical, mental, and emotional traits and his behavior. These findings the modern school man would harness to education.

All-round growth of the child. As has been suggested, the New Schools stress the all-round growth of every child. Accepting the principle that children function as organic wholes, they stress the importance of a child's growth in social, physical, and emotional power as well as in mental power. Under this scheme the school's function is vast and comprehensive, seeking as it does to improve the whole life of every child as much as possible.

Slower rhythm of growth. The New School is sympathetic to a slower rhythm of growth. It realizes that real meanings do not spring into being over night. They do not emerge from given class periods. It takes time—considerable time—to let them grow and mature. The

development of meanings is relatively a much more complex matter than the simple acquisition of facts. Learning experiences in the New School, to be worth-while, demand considerable planning, experimenting, reflecting, and self-direction, as well as judgment and the assumption of responsibility by the pupils. At the same time, however, the pupils are developing the traits and habits that underlie good citizenship. They are slowly becoming aware of social relationships and gradually beginning to understand what is behind rules and regulations, plans, and routines that govern a group. All this, of course, requires much more time than the simple routine of the Old School.

Elimination of competition. Many New Schools frown upon competitive work. Competition as a spur to effort is rejected. Some of the New Schools have eliminated marks, as well as medals and prizes for excellence in school work. The child's progress is judged by the comparison of his own work and achievements. The pride of fine performance, coming as a natural consequence from work well done, is considered reward and stimulus enough; just as disappointment and dissatisfaction follow poor work or the failure to accomplish the task to be done. The youngster who fashions a good play or poem has the reward of being appreciated by his fellows. The same thing applies to the child who helps and co-operates with his comrades.

Teacher participation. In the New School, the teacher goes beyond the classroom. In some of the New Schools —usually the private institutions—teachers share in the making of the curriculum, the school's administration, the hiring and firing of the staff. Teachers are expected to function in the community and to contribute to its general education and progress. They are expected

to take part in social, economic, and political movements.

Parental co-operation. There was a time when teachers regarded parents as a necessary evil in education. This notion the New School has definitely abandoned. The modern educator seeks the active interest and co-operation of parents in the education of their children. In the New School every week is "Education Week," when the doors of the school are open to visitors. Every teacher tries to familiarize the parent with the purposes and procedures of the school. The New School realizes that home and school share a mutual interest and responsibility in the child's total living, and that without co-operation of home and school there can be no full success in educating the child. The result is that parents and teachers frequently meet in small or large groups to discuss their common problems. Furthermore, mother and teacher of every child confer regularly on his welfare and progress. In some schools parents assist in the office and classrooms; they participate in trips and many other school and community undertakings. In the now obsolete Hamburg Community School, parents sat in the classrooms, participated in faculty conferences, and in a general way played an active role in the school's numerous activities.

13. Remaking education abroad

The movement to reconstruct educational theory and practice is not confined to America alone. The trend, indeed, has been international, having its advocates and experimenters in all parts of the world. Chronologically, as a matter of history, it should be noted that Dewey's laboratory school at Chicago was preceded by several others. In essence, Basedow's well-known *Philanthropinum* at Dessau was nothing else than a pioneer effort

to reconstruct education; likewise the numerous schools of Basedow's imitators—men like Salzmann, Campe, and others. The efforts of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, and Froebel were, at bottom, simply great attempts to bring about a better sort of education. In fact, long before Froebel created his kindergarten, he had a sort of student court, which stressed practical and social activities. Herbart, Rein, Ziller, and several other Herbartians were all laboring to reconstruct educational theory and practice. In England Thomas Wright Hill, of the Hazelwood School, stressed educational practices which were essentially based on a utilitarian philosophy and on activist psychological postulates. What is often called the *first modern Progressive School* was established as far back as 1889 by Cecil Reddie at Derbyshire, England. This is the celebrated Abbotsholme School. It has had a colorful and inspiring history, with many ups and downs. Reorganized a few years ago, Abbotsholme once again is actively contributing to the development of modern educational practice. The archetype of the country-home school, Abbotsholme inspired the establishment of many other similar schools, not only in England but also on the Continent, notable among them being the *Landerziehungsheime* of Hermann Lietz and the *Ecole des Roches* of Edmond Demolins and Georges Bertier.

a. Maria Montessori. Maria Montessori's first claim to academic distinction came at the turn of the century, when she became the first woman to receive the doctorate in medicine from the University of Rome. She made her debut in education in 1898, beginning her career in Rome as a teacher of mental defectives. Influenced by Seguin and Itard, two pioneers in the treatment of the mentally subnormal, Montessori applied some of their materials and practices with magnificent and almost amazing re-

sults. Subsequently, she applied her methods to normal children. With Rousseau, she believes that our best cue to the child's education is the child himself. Consequently, she demands complete freedom for the child. Montessori holds that freedom for the child is essentially biological, the chief requisite of the child during his growth being the absence of interference. No one, in the eyes of Montessori, is really free unless he is independent; he is independent only when he is self-sufficient and able to do things for himself without help from anybody else. For Montessori, the only worth-while education is "auto-education," that is to say, once the child is familiar with the general nature of his task, he is able to proceed by himself. Should he make a mistake, he is bound, in time, to discover and correct it. Should he fail to do this, Montessori believes, it is because he is not yet ready to do the task he chose. To assure her "auto-education," Montessori has developed special materials known as didactic materials. In the school operating along Montessorian lines, the child selects the activity that interests him, playing or working at it without any interference, unless he happens to disturb the other children in the room. Sense and muscle training receive special attention in the Montessori Method. "The education of the senses," she has asserted, "has as its aim the refinement of the differential perception of stimuli by means of repeated exercises." For Montessori, the goal of this sort of training "is that he refine his senses through exercises of attention, of comparison, of judgment." Her belief that her sense exercises "are true intellectual exercises" has been challenged by those who see in this claim nothing more than another version of the theory of transfer of training. Rather interesting is the fact that through her special methods, Montessori has achieved

some excellent results, particularly in the teaching of reading and writing. It is generally felt, however, that her methods are applicable only to phonetic languages, such as Italian and German. Montessori herself, however, after considerable study of the matter, has decided that for children under six, unless they are particularly stimulated, to read and write continually is not natural.

Montessori does not lack critics. In general, it is doubted whether her methods are as suitable to normal children as to the subnormal. Whether her didactic material is as suited to the needs of normal children as to others is also questionable. The most careful and scientific criticism of the Montessori procedure probably was made by the late William Stern, an eminent child psychologist in pre-Nazi Germany. Convinced that Montessori's method was not in strict accord with the tenets of modern psychology, Stern held that the "emphasis laid upon learning or 'practice' in the children's home is unsuited to the character of the period. At this time everything the child handles or sees is the object of involuntary learning."[20] Consequently it "is less necessary to make this learning the conscious aim of the whole of education in early childhood."[21] Furthermore:

> It is a mistake not only to prepare the child's occupations in such a way that in each something quite definite must be practised, but even to arrange these occupations in a systematic sequence. That is premature transference of school methods to a period of the child's life which is not ready for the hard and fast system and the consciously fixed aims of school life.[22]

In most European countries the Montessori Method is still florescent, Montessori Schools being found in Eng-

[20] Stern, W., *The Psychology of Early Childhood*, p. 32.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 226.

land, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and in other lands. Of course, as a phase of the so-called New Education, it is relatively old. Indeed, its success did much to stimulate the development of several other aspects of modern education. The Montessori achievement blew the breath of life into the growing belief that the group method of teaching tended to be nothing more than a lock-step system, which actually retarded the educational growth of the individual members of a given class. Partly as a result of Montessori's emphasis on individual learning, an emphasis which stems from Rousseau, educators began once more to look for better methods of teaching fairly large classes with more consideration for the individual pupil's needs and abilities. The celebrated Dalton Plan and its successor, the Winnetka Plan, are both pedagogical outcomes of this quest. Indeed, the principal ideas of Montessori often have been reiterated by many contemporary educators.

b. **Jan Ligthart.** Known sometimes as the Pestalozzi of Holland, Ligthart carried on his main work in a large public elementary school in The Hague. Here he labored and experimented with new educational ideas and procedures, proving, incidentally, that many phases of Progressive Education are workable even under adverse conditions in a public school. Stressing activity above everything else, Ligthart concentrated on two major problems: (1) the bringing about of greater pupil activity and (2) the better selection of subject matter. Like Montessori, he made a great deal of the child's spontaneity which, he insisted, should be related to his learning. Like Pestalozzi, he tried to make instruction objective. But unlike some teachers, Ligthart realized that, in instruction, words are indispensable.

"How," he once wrote, "can a teacher impart the facts

of the past without the use of words? When this man tells his boys about Napoleon's march to Russia, so vividly that the lads participate with all their heart, then he is giving an object lesson, as beautiful as you can imagine." [23]

Ligthart tried to make his pupils understand their environs, to show them the parts played by work, industry, gardening, and farming. During the first year, the child raised animals and studied plants in the fields and pastures. The next year he studied farming, including the raising of grain and potatoes, and also took up the study of food problems. In the third year, vegetables were studied; the following year came textiles and foodstuffs; and during the fifth year, the youngster added the starches to his list of studies. During all these years, the school garden was the scene of considerable activity. In addition, the children worked as potters, carpenters, and glass blowers. Whatever man did and thought became—as far as the child's ability allowed it—a fitting subject for the school. It was in a very real sense a doing school.

For Ligthart school and life were, like the sun and the sky, one and inseparable. The world, he insisted, should be brought into the schoolroom. Instead of teaching the traditional subjects—which certainly did not bring the world into the classroom—Ligthart sought to develop a curriculum which was related to the child's environment. Nature, work, and man were the foundations of his method. Each of the six lower grades was to concentrate on a center of learning, these centers being: (1) the school neighborhood and the life of the peasant children; (2) food and shelter—sources of supply and the processes of preparation; (3) building materials and simple geology—

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[23] From *Verspreide Opstellen* (popular edition), The Hague, 1924.

maps and diagrams of the school garden, of Holland, and the world; (4) local vegetation, soils, and industries, and trade relations with the outside world; (5) geography, history, and natural science; (6) elementary biology, physics, and chemistry.

Like most of the advocates of Progressive Education, Ligthart made pupil freedom the keystone of his method. Freedom he regarded a privilege, through which the child learned the meaning of his responsibilities. In a school, according to Ligthart, there may be two sorts of freedom. Thus one may say: "You may do whatever I permit," or, "You may do everything—except what I am forced to forbid." More or less the traditional policy, the former assumes that we can make children do whatever we command. Ligthart obviously did not believe in unadulterated freedom. The child's freedom, he averred, depended on two things, his own interest and that of the group. Freedom is not synonymous with individual pleasure. "It is necessary for us to show by our example that duty is not necessarily a disagreeable thing, for every obligation or restriction of liberty has its attractive side, which is the pleasure of work and the satisfaction of achievement."

The other extreme, namely, the imposition of an unnecessary number of regulations on the freedom of the child to force him into the paths prescribed by his elders, Ligthart felt to be unfair. "The health of the child's mind and the health of his body are at stake, for these can flourish only in an atmosphere of reasonable liberty."

A practical teacher above everything else, Ligthart laid great stress on kindness in his treatment of children. The old school of disciplinarians has frequently denounced Ligthart's procedure in this respect; nonetheless, a fair part of his success with children had its roots in his ability to understand the child. His pedagogy may have

been "soft," particularly in the early twentieth century, yet Ligthart employed it most successfully. There is no doubt that, in the end, it impressed even his pedagogical opponents.

c. Ovide Decroly. Belgium's outstanding twentieth-century educator, Decroly, like Montessori, began his professional work as a physician. Again as in the case of Montessori, Decroly began his work in education by establishing a school for mental defectives. In 1907, after considerable persuasion on the part of interested persons, he established what was to become an internationally known school, the *Ecole de l'Ermitage*. Decroly's school, like so many other pioneering experimental schools, was rich in ideals but poor in cash. The lack of money, however, was transformed into an asset because the school was forced thereby to depend on the initiative, ideals, and ingenuity of its sponsors and supporters. Launched with only a handful of pupils, the school grew steadily, and at the time of Decroly's death in 1932, approximately two hundred-fifty children were in attendance.

Decroly never considered himself an innovator in education; yet, though his ideas were not original, he usually endeavored to test them in the laboratory of actual experience. His celebrated phrase, *l'éducation pour la vie par la vie*,—"education for life by living"—summarizes his educational viewpoint.

Characterizing most of his educational principles as biosocial and biophysical, Decroly believed:

1. The child is a living organism which must be prepared for social living. Education should give him such preparation as will result in his happiness. Serious consideration must be given to the child's surroundings; likewise his disposition.
2. The child is a living, growing whole. Every moment marks growth. At every age the child is different.
3. Children of the same age differ from one another.

4. Certain interests are peculiar to each age, and these govern the child's mental activities.

5. The child's most potent activity is motor. If it has been properly encouraged, and if it has been controlled by the intellect, such motor activity is necessarily associated with all other activities.

These five principles form the keystone of what Decroly deemed a good school. When such a school is analyzed, it reveals the following characteristics:

It is set in a natural environment—close to nature. Here the child lives in the midst of what he is studying.

The school is not too large. It should be coeducational and should include children between the ages of four and nineteen. In the larger schools, coeducation should be continued till the ages of ten or twelve. (In most of the countries of the Old World, coeducation is still a controversial matter.)

The rooms should be studios or laboratories. Here activity rules; and to stimulate it, the room is equipped with tables, work-benches, running water, artificial heat and lighting, shelves and counters for exhibits and collections, and so on.

The faculty should be composed of educators rather than teachers. Active, intelligent, possessed of creative imagination and ability, they should love children. They must be willing and eager to understand their pupils.

Groups should be as nearly alike as possible.

The morning hours should be used for number work, reading and writing, and spelling. Such exercises should be started through play or games. What is left of the morning is given over to various exercises: lessons of observation, comparison, and association; drawing, singing, and physical games.

The afternoons are to be used for manual work and courses in foreign languages.

For some mornings special excursions should be planned. Hikes and visits are desirable. The children may go fishing; hunt bugs and insects for collections; inspect factories and museums.

The parent must be taken into the school's confidence. He should be acquainted not only with the problems involved in the education of his child, but also with the aims and hopes, the methods and procedures, of the school as a whole. He should share the teacher's zeal and the children's interests.

Informality should grace the school. The system should be understandable to the child mind. Only in this way can the child be expected to learn self-control and self-discipline.

To develop initiative and self-confidence, the children give lectures to their fellows. With the teacher's approval, the topics are selected by the children themselves. Usually the subject is related to the lessons of observation and association.

Individual and collective work is stressed, the latter being the way to co-operation

The basis of Decroly's method is his so-called center of interest. Somewhat similar to the project procedure, the center of interest tries to break down the traditional recitation based on subject-matter procedure. What Decroly was seeking was something that would be more in accord with the child's own interest. Based on the psychology of childhood, each center of interest tries to awaken the child's interest by harnessing his learning to his needs. These Decroly has classified into four types: (1) the need for food; (2) the combat with the elements, such as heat and cold, and their influence on our ways of living; (3) the need of protection against our foes; (4) the need to work and to act. Each of these needs forms a center of interest for a year's work, the complete cycle being traced in four years. However, the child does not tackle the center of interest until his third year in school. He is gradually prepared for the large center of interest by the introduction of several small ones, which are related to his immediate interest. In actual practice, the centers of interest were evolved by Decroly himself, though in their preparation and execution considerable liberty was allowed to both teachers and pupils. Like the project, the center of interest deals with a large problem from which come learnings and skills in arithmetic, language, history, geography, and so on. Every center of interest has running through it a central idea serving as a pivot for the other studies.

By running his school with as few servants as possible, Decroly was able to give his pupils many opportunities

to help in practical work. There was a Tidy-Up Club to keep the school clean; an entertainment prefect to organize school meetings and parties. Since the school was in the country, many children worked in the garden. Every morning the youngest children set the table. Several groups cared for the school's pets and sold their young. Some of the older children tended the fowls, and bought and sold eggs and grain. Even the meals served in the school were prepared by the children. A group of the older pupils was responsible for the school's general organization.

One of Decroly's more lustrous achievements was his ability to enlist the active interest and co-operation of the parents. In 1926, a parent's association was formed to support Decroly in his work and to aid in establishing schools conducted according to his method in other parts of the country.

Decroly's reputation is international. Unlike some prophets, moreover, Decroly was well appreciated by his home town, more than ten schools having been established to follow his methods. His outstanding interpreter is Amelie Hamaïde, the author of *The Decroly Method,* which has been translated into English and German. In South America, educators have given a high place to the Decroly Method. Sometimes known as the John Dewey of Belgium, Decroly often crossed the frontier to give educational counsel. In fact, in 1925, on the invitation of Nieto Caballero, a pioneer in modern physical education, Decroly visited Colombia.

d. Roger Cousinet. Among those who have labored to reconstruct modern educational theory in France, the name of Roger Cousinet at once commands our attention. With Madame Gueritte, he organized an educational society, *La Nouvelle Education,* in January, 1921. It is

composed of parents, teachers, and those interested in improving education, and has branches all over the French Republic. The cornerstone on which the society has been erected is the freedom of the child. To quote the society's own words: "The first principle of the new education is respect for the child. He is respected because this is an indispensable condition if we are to understand him." Besides its annual conventions *La Nouvelle Education* has held many exhibitions of children's work. Also co-operating with progressive educational associations in other parts of the world, the society has participated in a number of international congresses under the auspices of various organizations.

Stated tersely, Cousinet's aim has been to find out whether children, when put in conditions similar to those under which they play by themselves, will be better able to work by themselves. Cousinet first tried out this idea in a single grade under one teacher in a girls' primary school at Arcis-sur-Aube. Interestingly enough, in this one class official regulations were practically suspended, while in the other classes they were relentlessly enforced. Twenty girls, aged ten and eleven, formed the group. Practically nothing was set in advance—no schedule, no course of study, no minimum standards. The room in which these girls worked was informally arranged, with benches around four or five tables. The children worked in groups according to their interests. Some might be writing poetry; others might be planning a play. One group might be expressing itself in art, and another writing at the blackboard. Here and there an individual might be deep in a book; elsewhere, some girls tended the group's plants. And, of course, some might be doing nothing at all. At first blush, it might appear as if the teacher had nothing to do in the Cousinet scheme of

things. Actually, the contrary appears to be the fact. The teacher, indeed, is constantly responding to calls for help and advice. Her influence, though less obvious and perhaps even unnoticed by the girls, is nonetheless strong.

Speaking of his plan in August, 1921, at Stratford on Avon, Cousinet said:

> There is no actual teaching, the students are merely set to work. The master does not teach; he helps the workers. The children observe, search, find, design, describe, classify, and by degrees explore the universe, not with the intention of knowing it, but for the joy of exercising their minds and learning to work. *They do not memorize or recite—they act.* They function just as they did before entering school, when they were investigating the world by themselves, gathering facts, comparing and classifying them, until they discovered a few general laws—very imperfect, it is true, but sufficient to guide their future activity and supply a basis for future experiments. They were learning by doing.[24]

And again:

> My method has the advantage of avoiding the continual repetitions which render scientific work so tedious for children—not to say for their teachers. What has been done in one year is not begun again the next. The repertoire is constantly enriched with new observations, and if one again takes up the index sheet, it is that he may supply notes that may be lacking, or to improve the classification by basing it upon more vital characteristics. The work is continuous, infinitely varied, and always interesting. It is like a game, always the same, yet always different. The role played by the master grows ever less, collective work insuring more and more mutual corrections and uninterrupted progress.
>
> It may be possible with such a method to cover all the matter now included in what is called the curriculum. The children have full freedom to select the subjects for their observations, and it is possible that more than a year may elapse before they desire or have the opportunity to study, for instance, a reptile, a piece of ore, or a steam engine. What does it matter that the objects studied by the children have not been selected according to a prescribed curriculum, if it is true that what really counts is not the quantity

[24] Cousinet, R., "Experiments in French Primary Schools," Bulletin No. 12, Progressive Education Association, 1922, p. 7.

of impressions acquired by children but the capacity to learn and to understand which this method unfailingly developed? [25]

Cousinet's free group work is not altogether planless. At the beginning of the school year, the teacher tries to stimulate the pupils to bring materials to class and to make observations. This ordinarily, of course, meets with ready response. They bring many things to class, including even animals, dead or alive. What impressions they gather from these materials they express in words and drawings. As the impressions increase in number, they are classified. Finally, the pupils reach the state where they synthesize their information by making charts and recording their main observations and illustrations. These last stages Cousinet has called "social auto-education." Through collective study, corrections are made by the pupils, co-operation and group authority fixing the standards of achievement.

The character of Cousinet's free group work is twofold: (1) it replaces individual work by group work; (2) it permits the free choice of work. It is based on the theory that children can work together harmoniously and that they like to do so. Cousinet felt that the method can be employed when the child is nine years old. Between the ages of nine and twelve, Cousinet feels, children naturally form into groups for play. Allowed to choose their activities, just as they choose their games, they are fairly independent; they may select their own activity, work at it as long as they care to, and stop at will. As Cousinet explained at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship in Elsinore, Denmark, in 1929, the activities engaged in by his pupils are many. They include:

. . . . manual work (drawing, painting, sewing, acting, gardening), concrete creative activity—literary work (writing and reading orig-

[25] *Loc. cit.*

inal stories, poems, plays), abstract creative activity—scientific work (observation, description and classification of plants and animals), work in history—observation, description and classification of documents relative to the history of civilization, work in arithmetic (solution of problems arising out of the other activities and invention of original problems).[26]

The fact that Cousinet has been able to carry on his experimental work in France, which is notably conservative in the domain of education is, of course, quite remarkable. Even more remarkable, perhaps, is the fact that despite all sorts of difficulties, particularly those that emanate from the red tape of bureaucracy, Cousinet has been able to produce some tangible results. For one thing, the comradeship among the children appears to have been put on a genuine foundation. In general, the social tendencies of the girls have received a decided impetus, as is revealed both in their work and in their play. With Cousinet's free group work, the division of labor begins early. Still another outcome of Cousinet's procedure concerns leadership: the undesirable authority, based on mere physical superiority, has been minimized at the Cousinet school. Actually, moreover, free group work has allowed the child's personality to assert itself. The shyest youngster, indeed, finds a willing audience in a group having a common problem. It should be noted that, though Cousinet has proceeded on the basis of a liberal and progressive sort of education, his pupils have had to face the same state examinations taken by those children who follow the conventional procedures.

e. Berthold Otto. Among the pre-Nazi German school reformers, Berthold Otto must be classed with the more radical. Reacting against the formal intellectualism that had fastened itself on German education, Otto

[26] Boyd, W. (Ed.), *Towards a New Education*, pp. 163 f.

established a school not far from Berlin in 1906. Otto's sharp break with educational tradition naturally evoked considerable criticism; but the fact that the German government allowed him to continue his unconventional educational practices is not to be overlooked. Like many other educators, Otto felt that the essence of a good education lay in the development of personality; but for him such a development should stress individuality. Basically, he rejected what he called the "coercion and standardization of the old school." Like Mrs. Marietta Johnson, of Fairhope, Alabama, Otto believed in education as "organic growth," a growth which was to include the child's spirit and mind as well as his body. Instruction, he believed with Rousseau and Froebel, should start with the child—it should be, as he frequently said, *vom Kinde aus*, that is to say, "child-centered."

Otto felt that the best model for a school to follow was that of a happy home. He thought that the relationship between pupil and teacher should be patterned on that of parent and child at home. Otto's own home no doubt influenced him in this thought. By nature, he held, children seek to adjust themselves to their world; their natural inquisitiveness leads them to explore their environs, and only when they reach snags do they turn to adults for help. This situation Otto wanted to reproduce in the school. What he disliked about the conventional school was the way it stifled the child's natural curiosity. Instead of harnessing the child's questioning attitude to his work, the traditional school fed him formal and intellectual stuff, for which he often had no appetite. Otto wanted to replace reading and writing, the conventional starting points of instruction, with objective language instruction on the child's own linguistic level, in which his own elementary vocabulary—if necessary even his dialect

—was to be used. Instruction, moreover, was to be generated by the questions of the children and the answers of their fellows and teachers.

This sort of procedure is the kernel of Otto's so-called *Gesamtunterricht* (integrated instruction), one of the chief features of his now obsolete school. In its largest form it took the shape of a school assembly with some fifty to eighty children, aged from six to nineteen, as well as teachers and visitors in attendance. Three or four times a week this group gathered for an hour—outdoors if the weather permitted. The meeting was highly informal, the boys and girls sitting in an immense circle, with teachers amongst them—not as police guards, however, but as comrades and friends. The children were allowed to whisper and to move about, if they felt thus inclined. Some girls knitted or crocheted; here and there some boys perused books. In brief, the pupils had real liberty, which they used like responsible men and women. Usually the assembly was launched with routine business of common interest, such as plans for a hike, or a play. Once this business was disposed of, the assembly proceeded to the "order of the day." Any subject could be brought up, and whatever it was, it was discussed as long as it held interest. The discussions might emerge from a composition read by one of the group; more usually, though, they would be started by direct questions from the children. Someone might inquire about the nature of the eyeball, or the cause of wind, or what makes airplanes fly. In answering such and other queries, the youngest children were given the right of way; then came the older ones and finally the guests and the teachers. No attempt was made to enforce attention. In the average assembly, from three to four topics were usually discussed. Interestingly enough, a careful analysis of the

topics considered during the school year has shown that not only do all the so-called "school subjects" come up for discussion, but also many other significant matters not usually considered in the average classroom.

Besides this large form of integrated learning, each class had integrated instruction of its own. Altogether there were four groups—beginning, elementary, intermediate, and advanced. Instruction was given in any subject the children wanted. Theoretically, if enough youngsters wanted to study Indian life, or birds in the Black Forest, such instruction would be given. Remarkable to say, some of the most popular subjects were mathematics and the classics. In all this work, formalism was reduced to its minimum. Indeed, formalism had been driven so far into the background that even progressive teachers of the most liberal brand were at times quite amazed on visiting Otto's school.

Another innovation introduced by Otto was his pupils' court—the *Schülergericht*. Strictly speaking, this developed because of Otto's insistence that the pupils should handle their own affairs as far as possible. In the beginning, when the school was small and the pupils were, so to say, a large family, no particular organization was necessary. However, as the school grew, the situation became more complex. Though the number of student disputes increased, still Otto refused to intervene. With the faculty thus on the sidelines, the pupils eventually took matters into their own hands, and out of this situation came an organization of justice which summoned student disturbers of the peace, then tried and punished them. At the outset, however, the organization was rather secretive about its work; nor was it democratic. Its verdicts were not always above suspicion. Often enough, moreover, it could not carry out its dictates.

Gradually the youngsters became dissatisfied with their primitive and inefficient way of settling disputes. They themselves had come to realize that a change was necessary. Finally, at a gathering of the whole school, in one of their *Gesamtunterricht* sessions, they organized in a different way. To settle their difficulties, they chose an arbiter, who was to be helped by a corps of assistants, composed equally of boys and girls. Next, laws were enacted. With the passage of time the pupils evolved a form of court trial, which in some respects imitated adult procedures but in others was strictly original. The severest punishment, incidentally, was the student's exclusion from school for several days.

So successful was this form of self-government that Otto was able to entrust all disciplinary matters to it. The whole organization and its work, it should be observed, had its roots in the soil of practical need. There was no attempt at teacher domination. The system was not "thought up" by an imaginative pedagogical mind; its sole sponsor was the real, immediate and living need of the pupils themselves.

f. **Ludwig Gurlitt.** Born in Vienna in 1855, Gurlitt, like Herbart, came from a family prominent for its culture. Friedrich Hebbel and the eminent Mommsen were friends of Gurlitt's father, who was a distinguished artist in his own right. The Gurlitt offspring showed an aptitude for art at an early age. Stimulated by an eager and hopeful father, one of Ludwig's brothers, Cornelius, was destined to become a distinguished art critic and historian; another, Fritz by name, established himself as a successful art dealer in Berlin; and a third, Wilhelm, became an expert archeologist.

Curiously enough, it was mainly chance that led Ludwig to don the pedagogical robes. While temporarily

out of work, he made up his mind to make use of his license to teach in the secondary schools. He went through his preliminary trial year with flying colors and, since he liked the work, decided to make teaching his life activity. He taught successively at Hamburg, Berlin, and at Steglitz, a suburb of the Reich capital. His subject was the classics, and his success in teaching in this difficult field was due not only to his own gift for the work but also—and in a large measure—to the fact that his superiors allowed him a clear road. Outside of class, Gurlitt gave himself freely to his pupils. Under his direction, the old Greek tragedies were resurrected and publicly produced by the students. Poetry, too, was written by some of these boys, the model being Homer.

Yet while all these things were being achieved, the seeds of revolt were beginning to sprout in Gurlitt. Ever since childhood, Gurlitt had cherished a love of individuality. He was a passionate devotee of untrammeled action.

> The fabric of my discontent was gradually growing in my soul. At the outset it was not leveled at individuals but rather at that system which I thought too coercive and too rigorous It is possible that my prolonged stay in England contributed to my metamorphosis. I was, moreover, strongly influenced by the spirit of such men as Paul de Lagardes, Langbehns, Emerson and above all Nietzsche. A long-repressed grudge . . . . was now demanding to be freed. In Nietzsche I found what had for a long time been living within me· the demand for the humanistic gymnasium must be filled with the artistic spirit.

Becoming increasingly critical not only of others but of himself, Gurlitt observed how unwittingly he had become a mere cog in a great machine, grinding out "servile lackeys with the souls of vassals and job-seekers." Youth, he became convinced, was being "glutted with subject-matter, and helplessly it had to engorge all this

cultural fodder, which was being hauled up in larger and larger loads. . . . ."

Facts were what the visiting examiners sought from the pupils—such facts, for example, as: "How does Ode II. 7 begin?" "What is the title of Book 12?" and "How does the tenth poem in Goethe's *Liedersammlung* begin?" All this was being rammed into the minds of students, as one of Gurlitt's supervisors explained, "so that at least they shan't fail on account of any lack of information." Next to knowledge in this cultural scheme came the standard virtues of piety and strict obedience to authority. "Above all," warned a school man in dedicating a new secondary school, "guard the minds of those youths entrusted to you against doubt." Another pedagogue, according to Gurlitt, ably seconded him, thus: "Before the age of fifteen youth is not to think its own thoughts, but rather it is to enter into those of great men."

Against all this Gurlitt went into battle. Naturally enough, he was not the only combatant; nonetheless, he and his comrade protestants were in the vast minority. Launching his attack in 1902 with a monograph, *Der Deutsche und sein Vaterland,* Gurlitt ripped apart conventional and academic secondary education. Actually, he claimed to be demanding nothing new. He was simply trying to assemble in print "the popular dissatisfaction with the school system, a discontent which hitherto had been brushed aside by teachers as groundless fault-finding." As has happened so often in the case of well-meaning educational reformers, his aims were misunderstood or deliberately misrepresented. Gurlitt was depicted by many as a "disappointed radical." His conservative colleagues at the gymnasium were particularly incensed at his heresies. Some even publicly demanded his dismissal. Interestingly enough, it was at this very

moment that the German Youth Movement came to life. This was a vitriolic and determined protest against the stuffy, mechanized classroom intellectualism. It came as a protest from the students themselves. It is probably only a coincidence that the movement came into being in the very school where Gurlitt taught—indeed, some of the movement's most prominent apostles were students in Gurlitt's own class. During the next few years, Gurlitt was active not merely in defending his views but also in clarifying and extending them. He published several broadsides against the traditional school, noteworthy among which were his *Der Deutsche und seine Schule,*[27] *Erziehung zur Mannigfaltigkeit,*[28] and *Erziehungslehre.*[29]

We demanded a decrease in the number of hours, extermination of linguistic formalism, decided stress on local cultural values, a late beginning of foreign language instruction, elimination of learning-coercion in the lower classes, education in the outdoors, a student's right to question—in brief, a natural, local education from the near to the remote The ancient languages were to be taught only to the adequately capable pupils and according to much more living methods.

Gurlitt's main educational ideas are summed up in his *Erziehungslehre,* which, while not systematic in the usual German sense, is still a fairly well-organized presentation of educational theory. The very first chapter sounds the keynote with the startling title, "There is no general theory of education." The traditional sort of education, Gurlitt believed, places more stress "on limiting and holding down one's powers" than on liberating them, since education appears interested primarily in society and the state rather than in the individual. Concerning the ques-

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[27] Ruhl, Leipzig, 1905.

[28] Niels Kampmann, Celle, 1905.

[29] Originally published by Wiegand and Grieben, Berlin, 1909; subsequently by Ruhl, Leipzig.

tion "What does nature give to the child?" Gurlitt held that the life possibilities here are so manifold that pedagogic theory can not give satisfactory answers in individual cases. All that it can do is to set up general principles which in individual instances are not necessarily to be considered as inflexible and unbreakable law. Gurlitt is particularly virulent against any sort of indoctrination. Here, of course, he resembles those reformers who were supporting the Youth Movement. With youth, he declared, "we do not have to set up ourselves as the custodians of untouchable and eternal truths. If only we can be of use to children and let them perceive our honest intentions to help them . . . . then we can obtain the authority we desire." This, for Gurlitt, was fundamental. Needless to say, it was also on this point that he was most bitterly opposed. In his stress on individuality, Gurlitt put a high value on play:

> Play hitherto has been condemned by all educators of correct dignity. It was believed that play in any case should end with the beginning of the school year, so that life's seriousness might start. It is odd that it was reserved for our own time to recognize just how serious nature was minded toward play; how important, how essential this impulse is . . . . for the physical, spiritual, moral development of man. What is our drama? What are our concerts? What is all our art if not play? What would life mean if we were to eradicate play? . . . . Thus, as their nature demands, children's play must be set up in its own right as the most important, the most serious, necessary life activity of children. The job of education is to utilize the child's play urge in every direction and following nature, to turn it to good account.

In the chapter "Ideals and Habit Formation," stress is put on the fact that the teacher must always be a living example to his pupil of whatever he wants to inculcate in his protégé. Conflicts between master and disciple are not necessarily the fault of the latter. The old pedagogical maxim which recommended the breaking of the child's

will to secure its obedience is, of course, flouted by Gurlitt. What he wanted was a free personality whose rights to its own temperament—including even hatred and passion—were to be respected. True to his stress on individuality, Gurlitt did not think much of the feminist demand—which naturally would be more significant in the Reich than in the United States—that girls should be given an education *identical* to that of boys. "It is," so he asserted, "unjust and harmful to women . . . . to give them a man's education." Gurlitt's final chapter is a plea for greater consideration of the part to be played by the child's local community in his education. Youth, Gurlitt found, is "glutted with unwanted and un-understandable materials, fetched from afar and resulting in confused thinking."

In the midst of his struggle for a better education, Gurlitt's health deserted him and he was compelled to quit active work. Subsequently, however, he organized a new school along the lines of the country-home school. After the World War he developed the idea of the school farm. When the Weimar Republic undertook the task of reforming its educational system, many of Gurlitt's once controversial ideas served as models. His influence, of course, has crossed the German border and has found its way particularly into Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries.

g. **Georg Kerschensteiner.** Among twentieth-century educators who have contributed notably to the reconstruction of educational theory and practice is Georg Kerschensteiner. An admirer of John Dewey, Kerschensteiner shared many of Dewey's pragmatic views, and as superintendent of schools in Munich he helped to put many of them into practice. The aim of education, for Kerschensteiner, was citizenship. With Rousseau, how-

ever, he believed, that the child grows through a process of internal growth, and that whatever the child acquires is not really part of him until it has been absorbed through some sort of personal activity. "If the formation of character is the ultimate end of education," Kerschensteiner once said, "then the best school organization is that which gives character opportunity for development." And again, "character is developed only through action."

Kerschensteiner's great emphasis on action made him the apostle of the *Arbeitsschule* or "activity school." Defining such a school as one "which liberates the potential creative energy" of the child, Kerschensteiner introduced the activity principle on a fairly large scale in the Munich public schools. Realizing that the child's early years are characterized by activity, Kerschensteiner was prompted to reorganize the school in such manner that it would not lose its traditionally good qualities and, at the same time, it would render greater justice to the child's nature. In the beginning, he approached activity from the industrial and manual sides, but he subsequently broadened his concept to include the mental and moral aspects of behavior. Thus he flung down the pronouncement that what the up-to-date school needed, in addition to the customary manual training workshops, was mental training workshops. "The most valuable thing we can give a pupil," he wrote in his *Grundfragen der Schulorganisation,* "is not knowledge, but a salutary way of acquiring knowledge and an independent way of action."

Those teachers who think they are solving the problems that flow out of the activity principle by tying some sort of manual activity to the traditional curriculum did not get Kerschensteiner's blessing. By modeling medieval castles and sketching pictures of ancient battlefields,

Kerschensteiner asserted, the pupil could no more understand history than he could grasp the "categorical imperative by making a wood carving of Kant." True to his belief that education has for its main task the development of good citizenship, Kerschensteiner's activity school sought to make useful citizens, first by guiding the child to his proper life work; second, by planting in him the idea that each vocation had its place in serving society; third, by teaching the child that through his vocation he is to contribute his share in helping society to grow in the direction of an ideal moral community.

As superintendent of the Munich schools, Kerschensteiner achieved considerable prominence for his reorganization of the work of the continuation school. This particular phase of education always has been one of the striking features of German education. Historically, as a matter of fact, it goes back to the eighteenth century, when, however, it served mainly as a supplement to the regular elementary school. By 1914, either through state legislation or through local by-laws, compulsory attendance at continuation school, or its equivalent, was virtually an accomplished fact, though there was no national uniformity in this particular territory of education. Under the capable direction of Kerschensteiner, and with the co-operation of employer, teacher, student, and others, Munich developed a model program of continuation education. In this the student's occupation became the center about which the general subjects were grouped. If the youngster wanted to become a barber, he was given three hours of practical work, some elementary surgery, and trade knowledge, in addition to the usual subjects of religion, composition, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and civics. If he aspired to be a tailor, then he was taught the main facts of his prospective vocation, in addition to technical

drawing, information about wares and materials, and gymnastics—plus the general prescription. There were three classes of continuation schools: industrial, commercial, and general. The industrial schools were for prospective machinists, butchers, barbers, woodworkers, and printers. The commercial schools were organized in such groups as food and provisions; drapery and textiles; banking, insurance, and bookkeeping; porcelain, cutlery, and hardware. In all this work Kerschensteiner stressed citizenship, with the result that the general subject of civics was lifted to a place of high importance. It included, among other things, such matters as personal and occupational hygiene, economic and industrial history, and civics proper.

In connection with training in citizenship, Kerschensteiner stressed self-government. "Education for citizenship," he once declared, "stands or falls with the introduction of self-government in the conduct of the school. It alone is able to convert the school from a place of individual ambition into a place of social cooperation, from a place of theoretically intellectual onesidedness into a place of practical and human manysidedness, from a place of real acquisition of knowledge into a place of real application of knowledge. . . . . We have schools for intellectual education and for technical education; but we have no schools for social education. Only with self-government will education become social."

h. Adolphe Ferrière. Among those who have served in a distinguished way to reconstruct modern education is the Swiss author and educator, Adolphe Ferrière. Once a teacher in one of Lietz's *Landerziehungsheime,* Ferrière established the International Bureau of New Schools at Geneva in 1899. Subsequently, this was organized on an international scale and was known as the International

League for the New Education. The League is the European equivalent of America's Progressive Association, having more or less the same ideas and general program. It has sponsored several international conferences in all parts of the world, attracting to these conclaves prominent educators, philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists from every part of the globe.

Ferrière himself has been influenced not a little in his work and ideas by the thinking of G. Stanley Hall, Lester Ward, and William McDougall. Like G. Stanley Hall, Ferrière upholds the theory of a parallelism between the development of the individual and the evolution of the human race, a biological theory which, under the Herbartians, gave the school the now discarded Culture Epochs Theory. To an extent, Ferrière also has been influenced by the psychiatric teachings of Jung, having drawn from him his "psychological types," which fall into four groups. From Henri Bergson, Ferrière has drawn the concept of the *élan vital.* With Dewey and others, Ferrière believes that education is life and that "life is a continuous growth . . . . irregular no doubt in intensity and direction, but never at rest." Based on this general concept is Ferrière's activity school. It is in this domain that Ferrière has exerted his main influence on modern European education. The activity school, for him, is "not a collection of procedures." It is something to be lived. The activity movement has been considerably aided by the work of Edouard Claparède and Pierre Bovet, both of Geneva. The former, a psychologist and experimental educator, launched two important experimental schools. The latter helped to make the Jean Jacques Rousseau *Institut* an outstanding center for educational research. It has been called the center of Europe's activity school program.

i. **Bertrand Russell.** Russell's first full-length book on education was published in 1926 under the title "Education and the Good Life." It was written primarily for the layman, and is thus a relatively simple piece of work. In it, nonetheless, are many attacks on conventional education. Like Spencer, Russell called for more training in the sciences. In 1927 Russell and his wife decided to put some of their educational theories into practice by establishing the Beacon Hill School.

The aim of education, according to Russell, is to produce men and women of courage, vitality, sensitiveness, and intelligence. Of these four qualities, vitality is psychological. It implies the possession of energy beyond that which is actually used by a normal healthy human being; it is related to one's power to do things; and it should promote happiness. "Vitality," Russell has declared, "promotes interest in the outside world; it also promotes the power of hard work."

By courage Russell does not mean the bull-dog sort, because this, at bottom, is ignorant. Found in several forms, courage is most significant in the absence of irrational fears; it is nurtured by an objective outlook on life, and this necessitates the cultivation of things beyond oneself.

The courageous man is not only the fearless man: he is also the man with many interests; he is the man with an active intelligence; and he is the man who feels himself a small though not unimportant speck in an immense universe.

Concerning sensitiveness, Russell has given us a purely theoretical definition wherein he says that "a person is emotionally sensitive when many stimuli produce emotions in him. . . . ." The goal, however, is

not simply emotional intensity, but appropriateness of response. An important phase of sensitiveness is sympathy. Much of the world's unhappiness, Russell believes, has its roots in our stunted sympathy—the cruelty of our industrialism, the oppression of subject races, the savageness of war. Still another domain of sensitiveness is that of our aesthetic emotions.

Believing that education, particularly in the United States, too often has neglected not only literary but also general aesthetic values, Russell wants the school to give more consideration to sense training and dancing, to music and singing. The school should be a doing school where the child can practice self-expression. Let each child discover for himself what colors, sounds and rhythms please him individually. Let there be co-operative activities to which each child can contribute according to his special talents.

Russell is an apostle of open-mindedness. He believes that one of the best spurs to intellectual interest is free discussion, and that the child in his later years should be encouraged to argue on every controversial question. The child should be allowed to make up his own mind on questions of religion, society, and politics. In history, his view should be international rather than national or merely political.

Russell's views on morals and sex are generally well known in the United States. Briefly stated, he holds that we should impart knowledge solely for intellectual reasons, since to let moral considerations influence instruction is bad for both character and intelligence. The virtues Russell seeks in the cultured man are courage, sensitiveness, and love. The cultured man must have courage to stand up for unpopular causes, when he be-

lieves they are right; he must be sensitive to the evils and injustices of the social and economic order; and he must love his fellow man.

In the good life, fearlessness is inherent, but too often prudish, or even obscene. Adults have wrought irreparable damage on the child by placing about him an unnecessary barrier of taboos. This is particularly true in the case of sex, where Russell urges complete and honest frankness. Questions about sex, he avers, should be answered like all other questions, and with a scientific attitude, one that is scientific at least in the sense of being specialized common sense. Sex, Russell believes, is neither horrid nor dirty, and it should be treated intelligently.

Unlike many twentieth-century educators, Russell is not hostile to "knowledge for the sake of knowledge." But in any case, he feels that the acquisition of such knowledge should not be a boring process. It should be an "intellectual adventure," and should be "related to real life" in such a way that its meaning is understandable to the child. Pure learning, Russell reminds us, has a very important place, "new knowledge being the chief cause of progress."

"Utilitarian knowledge," he says, "needs to be fructified by disinterested investigation, which has no motive beyond the desire to understand the world better. All the great advances are at first purely theoretical."

j. Stanlislas Shatsky. Born in Smolensk, in Western Russia, Shatsky, the son of a minor army official, was raised in strict military fashion from earliest childhood. As in the case of countless other educational reformers, these early unhappy years left their mark on Shatsky. When he entered school, he was once more disappointed. It was even more militaristic, in fact, than his home had

been. Full of coercion and formalism, it was spiritually empty, with the result that "students cheated, feared, and hated." The political revolution of 1905 served to make Shatsky detour from the road toward science to that of education. Under the spell of Tolstoi's work at Yasnaia Poliana, Shatsky determined to become an educator. He launched his educational experiments in the country, emphasizing domestic work and agriculture, and putting considerable stress on economic and social co-operation. In time he began to feel that success was not possible through individual experimental institutions, but that they must be unified in a central station. By 1912 a plan was worked out for an Experimental Station for Children. In part, it was also realized in practice—in the kindergarten, secondary schools, clubs, libraries, workshops, and the children's labor colony. In 1915 a small subsidy was obtained from the Moscow municipal government and the work went forward. With the success of the October Revolution all the plans were unified into the first Experimental Station of Narkompros, the People's Board of Education.

It was in this colony, which was subsequently baptized the "Colony of the Cheerful Life," that Shatsky worked out most of his educational theories. A detailed account of the experiment up to 1924 is set down in his book, *The Cheerful Life*.

Shatsky is one more educator in that legion of contemporary school men who consider themselves disciples of John Dewey. Like Dewey, Shatsky subscribed to the pragmatic view of life. In education, he believed, it was the child that counted, the aims of education being as manifold as the child's periods of growth. Interestingly enough, he held that what mattered was the child's growth and development, and not the superimposing of

some extrinsic objective. At bottom, of course, such a view did not harmonize with the official Communist philosophy of education. Yet, curiously enough, by 1930 Shatsky was one of the outstanding educators in the U. S. S. R. The fact is that his educational objectives had undergone revision, becoming more specific in the process, and they now fitted in with the Soviet philosophy of politics and government.

Not that Shatsky had forsaken entirely his ideas of the individual child. He simply had discovered that, ultimately, individual and society are one. He now believed that, on the one hand, the school should organize the child's life, endeavoring to develop those talents and abilities which are not provided for by ordinary living. On the other hand, the school also was to be a place where the requirements of contemporary life must be considered. The school, in other words, was to be child-centered, but it was to be for society. It was to combine the two currents that have gone into contemporary education: the individualism of Rousseau and the social motive of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel. It was to develop the child's personality, his many-sided interests and individual talents, but it also was to participate in life.

"We must agree," Shatsky once asserted, "that the activity school . . . . is the school which organizes both the study of life and the participation of the institution in it. A school which does not take part in the life of the locality or community becomes not an activity school but a reflective one."

Shatsky's school was organized along progressive lines. Its program was not based on subject matter, but on the child's activities. In the school's work, the child was to be studied as thoroughly as possible. Furthermore,

the school was a part of the environment, and the latter was to be interrelated economically, socially, and in every other possible way to the work of the school.

What was impressive about Shatsky's school was the stress it put on socially useful work. Indeed, the entire course of study was based on this. Work was organized in villages, classes were established for the illiterate, and there were lectures on all sorts of vital and important problems. Shatsky's school thus became a leading force in shaping the life of the whole village.

In breaking down the rigidity of traditional subject-matter lines, Shatsky developed what he called "the complex method," which, in its essence, is a broad interpretation of the project procedure. A complex is composed of several broad projects, the various parts of which are interrelated. Like the project, the complex flows from the child's interests. At one point or other, the complex, as developed by Shatsky, was harnessed to the following content of the child's life: (1) his physical growth; (2) play; (3) art (the child's life in an artistic environment); (4) intellectual life; (5) social life; (6) emotional life; (7) work, labor, and activity.

k. Some notable experimental schools

(1) *Abbotsholme.* With the establishment of Abbotsholme in Derbyshire, England, in 1889, the first modern experimental school was launched. Its founder, Cecil Reddie, not only originated the so-called New School, but became, in the course of time, the spiritual sponsor of many other similar institutions both in England and on the Continent. The Germans subsequently dubbed Reddie the *Grossvater* of the country home school movement. Fundamentally, the school was seeking to plow new educational fields. Like all experimental schools, it was a solid protest against the traditional formalism then stalk-

ing particularly in the halls of England's secondary school. Abbotsholme's aim was to develop personality through freedom, its motto being: "liberty is obedience through law." What Reddie was seeking was a pupil who was "superior, fully developed in every respect," and capable of leadership, not simply because of the accidents of money or birth or influence, but because of genuine ability. Abbotsholme was to be "a challenge which will result in a boy's self-dedication, self-preparation, and self-discipline for the urgencies of life. The citizenship for which we prepare must be creative, critical and alert, the men we breed must be men and awake." After a rich and influential activity spreading over many years, Abbotsholme gradually began to be eclipsed by other experimental schools. A few years ago, however, new life was injected into it and once more Abbotsholme became an active New School.

Grouped into three schools, Abbotsholme is a country home school for boys ranging in age from seven to sixteen. As in every typical New School, the aim of instruction at Abbotsholme is not primarily to impart knowledge. The goals are character development and the formation of the reason and judgment. The methods of teaching vary, but one of the favorite procedures is group discussion, modeled somewhat after the fashion of a Socratic analysis. Instruction is less by book than by investigation; there is less stress on theory and more on use and application. Since the school is in the country, there are marvelous opportunities for work on the land. Practical work, indeed, is compulsory. Problems of farms, labor, supplies, seasons, and the like are studied from firsthand experiences. A sharp difference between Abbotsholme and the English Public School is not only in their liberal curriculum, but also in their attitude to-

wards games and athletics. At Abbotsholme, these activities play a much smaller role. Interestingly enough, both boys and teachers play Rugby football. Other favorites are cricket, golf, and tennis. On the whole, however, there is much less emphasis on team games; creative activities and practical work receive much more attention.

If, on the one hand, Reddie was seeking to liberalize the individual growing youngster, on the other hand he was also mindful of the school's social and civic functions. His school, indeed, became an active miniature world. It was a family, empire, and church all in one. It was a state where everyone, including the school's director, the faculty, employees, and the students, shared tasks and responsibilities. At Abbotsholme there was a scheme of self-government, perhaps not as grand as in some other schools, but effective just the same. Though the school was born in an era stressing discipline and training, Abbotsholme proceeded to break away from these bonds all along the line. It put its liberalizing mark not only on curricula and methods, but also on its teachers; they were not to be schoolmasters, but educators who understood and sympathized with their learners.

(2) *Bedales.* One of England's best-known New Schools is Bedales. Founded in January, 1893, by John Haden Badley, the school began its lustrous career with three teachers and three boys; today it is coeducational, with some two hundred boys and girls. Badley, who retired in 1935, was once associated with Cecil Reddie, having served four years as a teacher at Abbotsholme. As a youth Badley's eager and searching spirit had been left cold by the tenets of the Established Church; nor did he find satisfaction in the academic offerings of Rugby and Cambridge. At Abbotsholme, however, he

finally found what he was seeking. Reddie's emphasis on manual work and physical activity impressed him immensely, and, in the end, was to bear fruit. Unlike Reddie, however, Badley was convinced that sound education must be coeducational.

Bedales, like its predecessor in Derbyshire, is a country boarding school. Since 1900 it has been at Petersfield, on a large and beautiful estate of some one hundred-fifty acres. It maintains a farm of more than a hundred acres and grows its own fresh farm products. The gardens, orchard, and woodland provide outdoor work for the children throughout the year; and for those youngsters who want plots of their own, a special garden is reserved. Sports get considerable attention at Bedales, at least a dozen acres having been prepared for athletics of all sorts. The Bedalian boys and girls vary in age from four to nineteen. The younger children, numbering about fifty, occupy what is known as the Junior School. For the older children there is the Upper School.

The aims and procedures of Bedales are of the regular progressive kind, as witness:

1. Freedom for normal and healthy development of body and mind, by the upbringing of girls and boys in an atmosphere that fosters understanding and co-operation.
2. Care for the mental, moral, and physical needs of each child, without neglecting the needs of the community. There is to be co-operation rather than competition, as is evidenced by the school's motto: "Work of each for the weal of all."
3. The creative urge is to have adequate opportunity for expression.
4. Through the observance and treatment of religious matters, free from any trace of dogma and acceptable to all, regardless of creed, a sense of things of eternal value is developed.
5. International goodwill is to be encouraged in every possible way.
6. Between pupil and teacher there is to be a relationship of trust. Discipline is to come from self-control rather than from any superimposed authority.

Coeducation is one of the features of Bedales, and the reputation won in this domain has spread throughout the world. For a European school, distinction in this realm is rare; in fact, in the matter of coeducation the only other European school of great significance was Paul Geheeb's Odenwald School in pre-Nazi Germany, now continued as the *Ecole d'Humanité* in Switzerland. At Bedales, coeducation is more than coinstruction; it is the participation of boys and girls to the fullest possible extent in every phase of school life.

Accepting co-operation, Bedales has banned competition as a spur to effort. Competition, it feels, is inherently selfish and ought to be discouraged; the cause of many evils, it is the root of much social and international misunderstanding. To obviate it as far as possible, Bedales gives no marks for daily classroom work; nor does it give medals or prizes for excellence in school studies, except when work is done under special conditions. The motive for good work is to be the pleasure derived from doing good work.

The accusation sometimes hurled at the new schools, that they minimize or even overlook the value of religious education, cannot be raised against Bedales. "Besides the life of the body, and beyond even the life of the mind, the life of the spirit is our chief concern," [80] was Badley's point of view. If Bedales accepts this point of view, then, on the other hand, it does not accept the hoary religious emphasis on creed. "To creeds and ceremonies and the varying tenets of which rival churches make so much, we attach little importance. A creed is a thing that each age must restate in its own language and in accordance of its own time." [81] What matters at Bedales

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[80] Badley, J. H., *Bedales*, p. 212.
[81] *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

is not the words in which we bundle our faith; what matters rather is that our faith be living; that it be the source and fashioner of our actions.

Discipline and its maintenance are closely related to the training of character and responsibility, but a call on Bedales will reveal very few of the familiar marks of discipline. In the management of the school and its life, as great a share as possible is given to the older boys and girls. The organization and direction of play, for example, is in charge of elected captains. Internal government is in the hands of prefects, appointed by the headmaster. The most potent instrument of self-government, however, is the school council. This body is comprised of a number of officials, such as the headmaster, the housemaster and housemistress, all form masters, and the head boy or girl, as well as a number of elected representatives from each of the classes in the main school. Every year the council revises the rules of the school. Those that are no longer necessary, because of changed conditions or other reasons, are deleted. Besides its legislative function the school council seeks to initiate the discussion of any points which any members may care to bring up. At Bedales, self-government does not mean that pupils are allowed, or even expected, to decide what they shall do; only within certain limits is such freedom considered practicable. But such matters as the pupils can decide for themselves they have opportunity and freedom to decide. Control from above that fails to develop the power of self-control is deemed undesirable.

(3) The *Ecole des Roches.* Greatly inspired by the ideals and work of both Reddie of Abbotsholme and Badley of Bedales, was a French sociologist, Edmond Demolins. In fact, Demolins paid tribute to these two English school reformers when, in 1897, he published his

celebrated *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* ("Wherein lies the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons?"), a treatise which since has been translated into at least a dozen languages. In answering his query, Demolins felt that one of the causes of this Anglo-Saxon superiority lay in education; that education in England was characterized by broader goals and more natural methods than those prevailing in France. As far as Abbotsholme and Bedales were concerned, Demolins was quite right. One result of Demolins' publication was that a number of Frenchmen became interested in developing a better sort of education. Demolins continued his interest in education, and, in time, wrote *l'Education Nouvelle,* in which he expounded his ideas on progressive education. Then, in 1899, with the help of converted friends he established the *Ecole des Roches.* Eight years later Demolins died, but his work was carried on by Paul de Rousiers and Georges Bertier. The latter, in particular, has been a strong figure in modern French Progressive Education. As editor of *l'Education,* he has contributed vigorously to the cause of enlightening French parents about the meaning and scope of modern educational progress.

The *Ecole des Roches* is essentially a boys' school, and on the whole it follows the pattern of boarding schools of the progressive order. The school is situated in the country; it has an enrollment of some three hundred boys between the ages of eight and nineteen. A few girls attend, but thus far there has been no serious attempt at coeducation.

"Our first aim," says Bertier, "is to make of our students strong and generous personalities capable of solving tomorrow's problems in the best way." Stressing individual development, the school allows considerable individual freedom. On the vast seventy-acre estate,

the pupil may move about without undue restriction. He goes freely to all his work, and disposes of at least two hours of his daily time as he wishes. Study hours, free time, excursions, and numerous other activities are organized by the pupils themselves. "No pressure is exerted upon them, and if we strive to counsel and guide them, we never force them."

The *Ecole des Roches* urges its boys to shoulder social responsibility, the boys being expected to manage and direct their own activities. Individuals having special duties and obligations are in the classrooms, in the studies, in the libraries, and almost everywhere else. The school's main activities are entrusted to committees presided over by the students themselves. There is a committee in charge of the school paper, the *Echo des Roches*. Another committee manages athletics. There is a committee for manual work; another for charity and social work; and another in charge of the school grounds. This group is the *Commission de Beauté*. It takes its work quite seriously, accomplishing much more than removing litter and posting signs asking the populace to keep off the grass. It attends to the landscaping and the keeping of the lawns and walks, and now and then it even recommends the demolition of a building which time has turned into an eyesore.

Charity work is emphasized at the *Ecole des Roches*, the main responsibilities in this territory falling to the *Société de Charité*. The students make regular visits to the poor of the near-by town of Verneuil. Some of the concrete help offered by the *Ecole des Roches* boys takes the form of providing bread, milk, meat, and other victuals; for exceptionally needy cases, there are donations of coal and wood, clothing, shoes, and so on. Sometimes these young humanitarians help to pay overdue

rent; at other times they pay bills incurred by sickness or accident. The same pupil usually visits the same family for a number of weeks, and occasionally he is joined by one of his comrades, who acts as a sort of understudy.

One of the school's most important committees is that of the captains, of whom there are several kinds: head dormitory captain, under captain, captain of the house, school captain, and general captain. The captains' duties are varied. Briefly, they are commissioned to keep a watchful eye on dormitories, studies, games, and leisure activities. To their comrades, the captains play the part of big brother.

"With us," writes Bertier, "the captain is truly the servant of the boys of whom he is chief. He looks after their health, work, and morality. His position depends upon the perfection of his service. . . . . I myself preside every fortnight over the captains' council, and I have never left these meetings without being impressed by their concern to improve the school."

Everyone at the *Ecole des Roches* must do something practical. Garden work offers an array of opportunities in elementary agriculture; more advanced work in agriculture may be had in a near-by agricultural school. The shops for wood and metal work are splendid and well equipped; there is a special department for bicycle repairs, where boys repair their own wheels; and a number of excellently furnished studios for arts and crafts offer practical creative work of diverse varieties. But the *Ecole des Roches* stresses practical work, not only for the usual pedagogical reasons but also for social reasons. The pupils work for others—either for their fellows or for members of their family. One day, when Bertier went through the carpentry shop while on his rounds, he

found that "all were engaged on work for their brothers, sisters, parents, or masters." A good deal of the practical work is co-operative, as in the making of a wireless set or an iron gate for the school. In some of the crafts, interesting variations of the old guild system have been developed: a bookkeeping guild, a pottery guild, and almost any other guild. Each of these organizations is headed by a master, to whom the pupils apply for apprenticeship. After having served their probationary period, they are accepted as apprentices. They may be rejected, however, if found incapable of doing the guild's specialized work in a satisfactory manner. This scheme is not unique, being found in several of the New Schools.

As is generally known, French education is inclined toward the conservative. Through a relatively inelastic centralized organization, the nation operates its schools from Paris, controlling them even in small matters. The result is that educational experimentation and innovation is not only difficult but fairly rare. Despite all these difficulties, the *Ecole des Roches* has flourished. True, it must recognize the requirements of the state, and its students are obliged to take all the usual examinations. State inspectors who have visited the school hold it in high esteem. In the baccalaureate tests, moreover, the school ranks among the best. Though these examinations are not particularly easy—and never have been—in 1930 some ninety per cent of the *Ecole des Roches* candidates came through with flying colors. The fact that the school is able to offer its broad progressive program of activities, and still meet the rigid requirements of the state, is eloquently significant.

(4) *Hermann Lietz's Landerziehungsheime.* Another school reformer to be inspired by Cecil Reddie was Her-

mann Lietz, who for two years served as teacher at Abbotsholme. In 1898 he established at Ilsenburg the first of a number of schools. These he called *Landerziehungsheime,* which literally means homes for education in the country. The original Lietzian school was crowded out of existence by the demands of growing industry, but it was followed by six other similar schools, all modeled and operated on Lietzian lines. There are also many offshoots and imitations both in Germany and in other countries.

Lietz was born in Pomerania in 1868, the son of a fairly prosperous farmer. On the parental domain the boy led a more or less happy and unhampered life, growing physically, mentally, and spiritually without much interference. His first school days, however, were not as happy. A typical example of the old-time intellectual drill-house, the school failed dismally to interest him. And since Lietz failed to respond to the ordinary teaching ritual, his schoolmasters concluded—as they often do—that the fault was entirely his. The fact that the boy plunged into those activities that interested him, but which lay outside the academic enclosure, was overlooked. Later, Lietz studied at Halle and Jena; his teachers included such eminent men as Eucken, the philosopher, and Rein, the Herbartian. It was on Rein's recommendation that Lietz became associated with Abbotsholme.

The keynote to Lietz's educational viewpoint is found in his early life. His first disappointments in school led him to condemn the city as an educational milieu. His life on his father's farm, with its wide and untrammeled freedom, led him to glorify the countryside as an educative force; and his dismal days of drill made him the uncompromising foe of formalism. Assembling these

ideas, Lietz stood for a school in the country; a school of affection and understanding, alive to the interests and needs of the growing child.

Fundamentally, Lietz's schools stress the social and non-academic features of education, their goal being a well-balanced individual. "We are striving to develop," once asserted Andreesen, "not only the one who knows, but the independent seeker and doer." The Lietzian schools want their pupils to be close to nature, away from the banalities of the city. The simple life of the peasant at its best, his industry and thrift, are absorbed by the pupils and shared in their own life and labor.

When the Lietzian schools were launched, their founders gave special attention to the geographic environment, in the belief that this played an important part in the development of the child's nature. The site for each school was chosen with particular consideration for the age of the pupils who were to come there. The school for the youngest children, for example, was housed on a peaceful country estate in a slumbering German village, far from the rumble-bumble of the turbulent city. This charming countryside became the textbook from which the young Lietzians gathered their experiences. The school is their world and their laboratory. A replica of the village, it has its own barns and sheds and toolhouse. When classwork is over, the children work in the fields and garden. Interestingly enough, they share much of the community life about them, even celebrating the same festivals that lend so much color and gaiety to the peasant life. These youngsters, in the words of Lietz, "are rooted in the native soil."

True to the broad concept of Progressive Education, the Lietzian schools have always stressed a many-sided education, with the child's needs and interests as a start-

ing point. The day's activities are balanced. There is intellectual work, manual work, and practical work. There is physical and aesthetic activity. There is individual and social work. Freedom is the cornerstone of the Lietzian procedure.

Unlike some modern schools, Lietz's schools segregate children according to age. There is one school for the nine- and twelve-year-olds, three for the twelve- and sixteen-year-olds, and two for those between sixteen and eighteen. Those who organized these schools along these lines felt that individual self-development was hampered in a boarding school that had children of all ages. What the Lietzians wanted was the development of individual talents and powers to the full; but this, they believed, was often impeded by the human tendency to imitate. Younger pupils, they felt, liked to ape not only the doings and organizations of their older comrades, but also their mannerisms. Older pupils, on the other hand, tend to overstimulate their younger colleagues; but the latter at times tend to hamper their older associates. The greatest value of segregation as practised in these schools, and as reported by Andreesen, is that "in every home a class of boy leaders is formed, who develop a feeling of responsibility for their home and comrades, but who in their new home will once more have to win their spurs."

The Lietzian schools do not accept coeducation as fundamental. However, similar schools for girls have arisen, although these are not in the Lietzian chain.

As might be assumed, the teacher in these schools is expected to play a significant part in his school's comprehensive educational program. His duties are never limited to the classroom. He is expected to be more than an official—more, indeed, than a routine teacher. He is expected to have that rare capacity of being able to reduce

to almost nothing the chasm separating teacher and pupil. In brief, like all teachers worthy of their name, the Lietzian teacher must understand and sympathize with the tumultuous life of every growing boy. Like the boys he is expected to educate, he must be many-sided. He, too, must be more than one who knows; he must also be a doer.

The fact that these schools are private ventures of an experimental sort has led many to believe that instruction is not of a high order. This, as a matter of fact, is quite erroneous. Like the *Ecole des Roches*, the Lietzian *Landerziehungsheim* is subject to state regulations and must follow the regular course of study prescribed in the modern types of German secondary school. Thus bound to the state's regulations, the country-home schools have not been able to make many curricular changes. The best they have been able to do is to make their program as flexible as possible, and to include as many extracurricular activities as possible. Still, on the whole, the Lietzian schools have been able to keep formalism and intellectualism from their midst, with marks and examinations driven into the background. Not until the student enters the advanced group do examinations become significant—and then only as a preparation for the final state examinations, the well-known *Reifeprüfung*.

The Lietzian schools have, of course, been affected by the National Socialism of the Third Reich. Of all the experimental schools in Germany, they were the only ones to survive. They still have considerable freedom, that is, in a relative sense for Germany. On the other hand, they have had to adopt many Nazi innovations. Their teachers, for example, must be good Nazis. There is the usual deliberate Nazi indoctrination. And there are, of course, all the Nazi educational trimmings, including the activi-

ties of the Hitler Youth. The influence of the original *Landerziehungsheime* has been considerable. Today it is found not only in Germany but in many lands, particularly in Switzerland. In several respects, the now defunct Austrian Educational Institutes, which were organized after the World War, were modeled along the lines of the Lietzian schools. Many of Lietz's principles even have found their way into a more liberalized public secondary education outside of Germany. Lietz's influence, moreover, is discerned in the work of some of his teachers, who launched educational reforms of their own. Gustav Wyneken and Paul Geheeb launched *Wickersdorf;* and then later, Geheeb established the famous Odenwald School. Adolphe Ferrière, one of the deans of the activity movement, was once associated with Lietz.

(5) *Gustav Wyneken's Wickersdorf.* In 1906, Gustav Wyneken and Paul Geheeb, both associated with the Lietzian schools, jointly established a new school of their own. Its name was *Wickersdorf,* and instead of being a country-home school, it was to be a "free school community." While the two types of schools have much in common, they also show some fundamental differences. On the whole, they were much inclined to be truly experimental. They were much less conservative, not only in education, but also in their social-political outlook. From its beginning, *Wickersdorf* had some form of coeducation, due mainly to the efforts of Geheeb, who is probably the Old World's warmest and most successful advocate of coeducation.

Wyneken's pedagogical thinking, like that of Gurlitt, shows the influence of Nietzsche. The unyielding foe of all indoctrination, Wyneken insisted that the school be a free community in fact as well as in name. The school was to be nobody's tool; neither the state nor church nor

society, he felt, had a right to dictate to the free school community. Wyneken's attitude toward the family is not too flattering. Too often, he believed, it counteracted the benefits of true education. It has forced, he once said, "its young members to ape the parents"—and the older generation, Wyneken thought, was too materialistic in its interests. "As long as society and the nations are under the yoke of an economic struggle for existence," he once wrote, "just so long . . . . the enslavement of youth will continue." With the older generation's materialistic outlook, there can be no real understanding of the spiritual aspects of civilization.

Wyneken's insistence on the noninterference of adults is closely related to a second doctrine. He himself has called it *Jugendkultur,* by which he meant that youth is to create its own world and culture.

In its strivings, youth was to be guided; but the guidance was to be sympathetic and, above all, by people who respect the creative spirit of their protégés. In the words of Wyneken:

> Youth, hitherto only an appendage of the older generation, shunted out of public life, assigned a passive role in life . . . . is beginning to think of itself It seeks to shape its own life by itself in order to be free from the indolent habits of its elders and the dictates of an ugly convention. It seeks a new way of life which will correspond to its youthful being, but which at the same time will enable it to take itself and its creations seriously and help it to link itself as a distinct factor with the work of civilization.

On the whole, the work and life of the students at *Wickersdorf* resembles that of the children in the country-home school. There are, however, children of all ages at *Wickersdorf.* This and the fact that the school has girls as well as boys naturally affected the *Wickersdorfer* activities. However, the daily program was much the same, with the same attempt to balance the educational

diet. Much more attention, however, was given to music, art, and dramatics.

One of the features at *Wickersdorf* was its form of self-government. From almost the very start, *Wickersdorf* encouraged its students to take an active part in shaping the school's policies. Pupils as well as teachers assembled to discuss common questions, all matters being finally settled by vote. Pupils had precisely the same rights as teachers in these gatherings, which were called the *Schulgemeinde*—the "school community." Here was no playing at self-government. On the contrary, the questions considered were real and vital. Such matters as those concerning pocket money, luxuries, betting, smoking, and drinking were considered and regulated by the school community. Once a decision was made, moreover, it was binding on everybody.

> The school community is no cultural organization, no supplementary instruction, but an organ of self-development of the community life. Nothing in it is taken up for the sake of theoretical interest; everything aims at the practice of community life . . . . the school community is meant honestly; no fraud lurks behind it; it aims to be nothing more than the natural self-government of the community.

Under the National Socialist scheme, *Wickersdorf* obviously could not continue. One of the first Nazi coups against the free school communities came with the prohibition of the word "free." They were to be "school communities," but not "free school communities." Girls, moreover, were to be under the special supervision of married teachers. And the instrument of self-government was to cease its functions, its powers being only advisory. Such changes obviously meant the end of these schools in Germany, though some of them managed to transfer their activities into other countries.

(6) *Paul Geheeb's Odenwald School.* One of Germany's finest experimental schools was the Odenwald School. It was founded in 1910 by Paul Geheeb, who four years previously had joined Wyneken in the establishment of *Wickersdorf.* The two schools have much in common, but there are also certain glaring differences, due, in the main, to the fundamental differences in the philosophy of the two men, Geheeb and Wyneken.

Born in 1870 in Thuringia, Geheeb is the son of a noted botanist. Like Lietz, he was brought up close to nature, with the result that even as a child he was keenly interested in the local flora and fauna. This interest Geheeb always kept, and even on the threshold of seventy he still could delight his students by his lively explanations in the botanical domain. When barely fourteen, Geheeb lost his mother, a loss which he has described as the most terrible shock of his whole life. But it helped to kindle him spiritually: hitherto interested primarily in the natural sciences, Geheeb now turned to religion and philosophy. Like Pestalozzi, he became filled with a desire to help his fellow man; and again like the great Swiss teacher, he made up his mind to become a minister. The narrow academic requirements which paved the way to the theological office never unduly interested Geheeb. Instead, he journeyed over a much broader lane, studying the natural sciences, and even medicine and the oriental languages. Through his studies he met Lietz, and the two men became very close friends. It was Lietz, in fact, who helped to convince Geheeb that the best way to help mankind was not as a preacher but as an educator of youth. Four years after Lietz established his first school, Geheeb joined him. Then, as has been said before, in 1906 he helped Wyneken to launch *Wickersdorf.* Fi-

nally, in 1910, Geheeb established his own school at Odenwald.

This was a Free School Community. It accepted most of the usual principles of the New Education, but in certain respects it worked some of these out in unusual and significant ways. Children came to Odenwald from many lands, about one-fifth of the pupils, at times, being non-German. For many years the school was organized in families—that is, in groups of six to ten under the care of a teacher or a married couple—and the family usually occupied one story of a house, each house being shared by some twenty-five to thirty boys and girls. Under the family system, every new pupil at Odenwald was tentatively assigned to a family; and after some time—about six weeks—he was allowed to choose for himself the particular family with which he wanted to be more permanently. There was thus no segregation according to age at Odenwald.

Coeducation at Odenwald was very real. In fact, probably less than a half-dozen schools in the whole world could match Odenwald's achievement in the coeducational domain. Indeed, even John Badley, of Bedales, on a visit to Odenwald, saluted coeducation there as most remarkable.

Like *Wickersdorf,* Odenwald had installed a genuine system of self-government, its school council being composed of students and faculty. There were absolutely no limitations in the matter of rights and privileges. Everyone was treated alike, and teachers had no dominating influence, either direct or otherwise. Every member of the council—young and old—had a right to vote. The council, moreover, was a sovereign body, its decrees and regulations being final. Not even Geheeb himself could set

them aside. The council's sessions were looked upon as strictly private, and no visitors were allowed to attend. Teachers and pupils, however, have declared that the council took itself and its work most seriously. Plainly, self-government was not regarded by Odenwald as an educational toy, which now and then produced incidental benefits of educational value. The council was much more than a parliament—an aping of adult governmental machinery, with parties representing the diverse group interests. Every member, it appears, was working for the common good of Odenwald.

Interestingly enough, the Odenwald council also concerned itself with disciplinary matters, and it had the exclusive right to punish. In individual cases, this authority might be delegated to others, though in no case to an adult. Losing his right to vote in the deliberations of the council was the severest punishment that could be inflicted on a delinquent.

Instruction in the *Odenwaldschule* was organized in a way which, in Germany at any rate, was beyond compare. Instead of putting the student into a regular and inflexible program of studies for a year, or even a term, Odenwald offered all subjects for children over ten years of age in one-month courses. Every student was expected to pick two content subjects. He had the right, however, to refuse to elect anything at all, and to concentrate instead on individual and independent work. Courses to be given during the month were usually announced in advance, and the children had virtually a free hand in selecting their work, the only limitation being the obvious one that they could not select work for which they plainly were not fit.

Besides taking two content courses, every pupil was made to pursue one practical, or craft, course. Here

again the child was allowed to make his own choice. In the elementary classes there was more stress on play, and the four-week course was not followed. Gradually the children made the transition from play to work, under a system of integrated instruction.

At the end of every month there was a special meeting of the school council, at which lectures and papers were presented by those who had completed their four-week courses. At such time also there was an exhibit of some of the work turned out for the arts and crafts courses. Every pupil was expected to participate, though the precise form of contribution he wished to make was left to his own choice.

Drama and music were closely interwoven in the life of the children. The picturesque countryside was a first-rate setting for Shakespearean comedy. Other productions, too, were popular, such as Kleists's celebrated *The Broken Pitcher* and simple pieces. In music, every child was encouraged to play the instrument best suited to him. There were also large and small singing groups. One of the principal features of Odenwald's musical life was its music evenings, *Musikabende,* which usually were devoted to such immortals as Mozart, Beethoven, the two Bachs, Haydn, Schubert, Händel, Brahms, and many others.

Several times during the school year, on the occasions of the birthdays of the great men for whom the various student houses were named, Odenwald celebrated on a grand scale. Months before the arrival of the great day, committees plunged themselves into the work of making plans and preparations. When the day came, the entire school journeyed into the hills. Here, talks were given. Portions of the celebrity's works were read, and an open-air performance was staged, with nature for a setting.

Some of the children's parents and visitors from the near-by villages also participated. Sometimes sports predominated: there was once a Schiller feast, which was completely devoid of any cultural smack. It was dedicated to physical training and featured intramural athletics.

Briefly stated, Odenwald sought to educate cultured, social human beings. With Wilhelm Meister, it held that what counted in education was that a man should be able to understand life and live it well, in such a way that he is himself and not easily imitated. Much of the school's success was due, of course, to its founder and director. Now approaching his seventieth year, Geheeb gave the best part of his life to the reorganization of educational theory and practice. Today, of course, Odenwald has become incompatible with Nazi ideology. After more and more interference from the National Socialists, and a steady rain of governmental prohibitions, Geheeb eventually succeeded in moving into Switzerland. There, in a locale situated some twenty minutes from Geneva, overlooking beautiful Lac Léman, Geheeb became associated —as a sort of co-director with J. Gunning—with the Institut Monnier. After a few years, however, this partnership was severed and Geheeb assumed the full direction of the school. Today it is known as the *Ecole d'Humanité* and is located at Schwarzsee.[32]

C. Criticism of Progressive Education

The New Education, summarized in the words of Herman H. Horne, "is an educational philosophy that is improving schoolroom practice, making learning a more purposeful process, giving children the sense of reality in

[32] See p. 231.

the school, making schools into workshops, laboratories and libraries, and inspiring educational experimentation."[33] Like all breaks with tradition, the New Education has been subjected for years to a relentless fire of criticism. In contrast to the Progressives, their opponents have been designated sometimes as Conservatives, and at other times as Essentialists. The criticisms are manifold. To begin with, the Dewey dictum that education should be life itself and not merely a preparation for life is attacked on the ground that, strictly speaking, this would mean that the school would have to imitate and include the outside world within its realm, and that this, at bottom, would mean that education is life in the raw. The Progressives, on the other hand, have denied such an implication in Dewey's words. The school, they contend, must furnish a special and rich environment capable of stimulating the child's interests and liberating his capacities. To this the Essentialists reply that, unfortunately, such is not the situation in "real life." The discrepancy between the two schools of thought is not simply a verbal one, for the followers of the Progressive School insist that the school must be part of civilization and the social order, which means that the school must deal with real and vital social needs and materials. In the past, the school has always tended to deal primarily with formal and absolute questions.

Another question raised by the critics of the newer methods is this: Can an integrated curriculum, based wholly, or almost wholly, on the child's interests, teach the formal skills needed in the tool subjects? Or in other words, can such a curriculum teach the complex skills involved in arithmetic, spelling, and the like? Can arithmetic be successfully taught "as it is needed"?

[33] Horne, H. H., *The Philosophy of Education* (revised 1927), p. 316.

One of the more acidulous foes of Progressive Education is William C. Bagley. His main blasts are directed at the results of the newer methods. These procedures he believes to be soft and flabby. Because of this, discipline has suffered. Indeed, Bagley feels that a good part of the national contempt for moral and legal control is due to Progressive Education. If this is so, then obviously it should be so in Switzerland, Holland, and England, as well as in the United States—and on this point there is considerable doubt. Moreover, Bagley is not willing to accept the role assigned the teacher under the newer scheme. Teachers, he feels, should be more than guides and inventors of situations to stir pupil needs and interests. The way Bagley sees it, the teacher should be thoroughly trained and cultured, with as rich a background as possible, and capable of teaching in a first-rate and efficient way. Knowledge and the social heritage should not be put into a secondary place. These, Bagley feels, must be attacked directly and not incidentally if they are to be acquired at all.

The same critical tune is intoned by Nicholas Murray Butler, who has declared "the form and content of our American common school education, so far from having kept pace with the astounding advances that have been made on the administrative and material side, have gone distinctly backward." He has described school teaching as having been deprived of any objective that really matters. "We are now actually invited to take as our model for the education of the American child the cow, which grazing lazily in the pasture munches what pleases the eye and seems likely to fill the stomach." With other critics of the newer methods, Dr. Butler feels that the results are lamentable. Not only are the progressive schools graduating children who are undisciplined, but

these youngsters also are ignorant of the fundamental operations in arithmetic and spelling.

"We have graduates of our common schools and even, I am sorry to say, of our high schools," Dr. Butler has said, "who triumphantly spell Caesar with an *S* and Xenophon with a *Z*, who think the Rule of Three has something to do with state politics, and that the Metric System is part of the human apparatus for digestion." But after all is said against Progressive Education, a glance at the pages of educational history will reveal that the same complaints always have been made against the school. The traditional schools, it appears, have failed in precisely the same way.

Regarding the matter of pupil freedom, of which the New School makes such a point, there has been considerable misunderstanding—not to say misrepresentation—regarding this particular plank in the Progressive platform. Bagley, for example, insists that what the situation needs "is a strong tincture of iron." Many others see a menace in pupil freedom, believing that in the long run it leads to license and, in some cases, even crime. John Dewey himself has criticized what he calls the "deplorable egotism, cockiness, impertinence, and disregard for others" on the part of some children attending some of the Progressive Schools. In the actual world, freedom is, of course, a relative matter. In the final analysis, everything depends upon the conditions under which the child is to be "free." On the one hand is the extreme restraint and repression of the traditional school; on the other hand is the egotistical youngster described by Dewey. Obviously, neither of the extremes is desirable. In fact, the best of progressive practice, as exemplified in such schools as those of the *Ecole des Roches, Wickersdorf*, Odenwald, and many others, both in the Old and the

New World, would reject any such one-sided concept of freedom.

The controversy between the two schools of educational thought is still raging. In general, the more conservative view holds—in fact, during the last few years it seems to have been gaining force. However, as we have seen, the influence of Dewey and other refashioners of educational theory and practice has been immense. Much of the solid and the good of Progressive Education has been adopted by the public school—particularly in the United States. The outcome, in the end, probably will be that the older type of school will adopt more and more certain phases of the New Education, without, however, going all the way.

II

Other Developments

A. The Scientific Movement in Education

1. The measurement movement

The germ of the modern scientific study of education is found in the nineteenth century. It was Herbart, for example, who suggested that the scientific method should be applied to the study of education. The honor of fathering the modern measurement movement is generally accorded to J. M. Rice, who in 1893 wrote that "before pedagogy can be recognized as a science, it will be necessary to discover at least some truths in regard to the educational process. . . . ." The measurement movement began in the United States just before the turn of the century with Rice's pioneer work in the study of the spelling achievements of some thirty thousand pupils. He found, interestingly enough, that those pupils who had devoted fifteen minutes a day to spelling could spell as well as those who had given forty minutes a day to the subject. More important than the findings themselves, however, was the fact that Rice's investigation threw the national spotlight on the feasibility of studying education through objective and exact measurement and the use of statistics.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the early skepticism that had greeted Rice's efforts had largely disappeared, and a number of educational prob-

lems were approached through the new procedure. One of them, for example, concerned the age-old question regarding the pupil's rate of progress. In 1909 studies of this question were launched by a number of educators, notable among them being such men as E. L. Thorndike, G. D. Strayer, and L. P. Ayres. In addition, many local studies were made by school administrators, and after the passage of a few years some of the findings began to be published. It was found, among other things, that many children were retarded in their progress through the school, or fell by the wayside completely, because of the fact that the curriculum or the teaching was not adapted to their interests or abilities. Age-grade distributions, moreover, varied considerably in different cities. A study of the causes revealed such factors as poor and irregular attendance, large classes, home conditions, mental deficiency, ignorance of English, poor teaching, improper curricula, and the like. Such findings led to serious efforts to bring about a better adjustment between the school and the child's particular needs, interests, and capacities.

It was at about the same time that the first achievement tests came into being. C. W. Stone issued his Arithmetic Tests in 1908. A year later, Thorndike presented his scale for the measurement of handwriting before a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and in 1910 the scale was published. Generally speaking, the publication of Thorndike's scale has been recognized as the beginning of the contemporary movement for measuring educational products scientifically. During the ensuing years, scales and tests appeared rapidly and in increasing numbers. At the same time, the measurement technique was scrutinized in an effort to make it as objective, scientific, and useful as possible, one of the leaders in this domain being

W. A. McCall, who in 1922 published his book on *How to Measure in Education.*

In addition, a number of professional journals, such as the *Educational Measurement Review,* published by the Southern California Educational Research Association, and the *Journal of Educational Research,* the official organ of the Educational Research Association and published at Bloomington, Illinois, gave much space to the movement and its findings. Not only did the number of standardized tests grow considerably during the second decade of the century, but the area of investigation also widened. Not only were formal achievements put under the inquiring eyes of the investigator, but also such things as ability in artistic creativity, reasoning, and the like. Even emotion, personality, and interest have been thus studied, though not always with profitable results. Today the testing and measuring movement has become an integral part of the twentieth-century school. Generally speaking, from the point of view of new developments, it may be said to have reached its height in the early '20's. The movement is chiefly a characteristic of American education, and though it has its advocates in England, it is not so popular in most of the other lands advanced in education.

The mark of the measurement movement also has been left on teaching. Through the use of objective test questions, teachers began to construct their own informal objective tests. True-false, completion, matching, multiple choice, identification, and vocabulary tests are widely used. Another outcome of the measurement movement is the so-called work-book, which is being used in practically all the subjects in the contemporary American school. Indeed, in 1935 there were some four hundred different work-books in use in American schools.

EXAMPLES OF NEW-TYPE TESTS

True-False:

True False Columbus discovered America in 1492.
True False Columbus was a Spaniard
True False Modern educational research utilizes the scientific method.

Multiple-choice:

Richard Wagner is famous as a (1) poet (2) painter (3) composer (4) statesman.

The result obtained in addition is called the (1) product (2) sum (3) quotient (4) remainder.

Wooden houses are painted because

they look nicer
✓paint protects the wood.
paint makes the house warmer.

Matching:

Match the following.

_____	Defoe	(1)	English
_____	Swift	(2)	American
_____	Irving	(3)	English
4	Shakespeare	(4)	English
_____	Mark Twain	(5)	English
_____	Dreiser	(6)	German
_____	Goethe	(7)	French
3	Huxley	(8)	American
_____	Diderot	(9)	American

Completion:

Complete the following thoughts:

The process by which starch is produced in green plants is called _____.

The honor of fathering the modern measurement movement is generally accorded to_____who in_____suggested that before education can be recognized as a science it will be necessary to_____.

Vocabulary:

Der Hund ist:

(1) ein Buch (2) ein Tier (3) eine Feder.

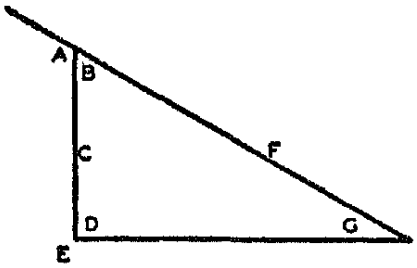
Erbsen und Bohnen sind

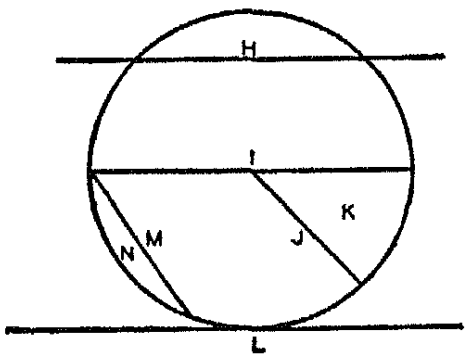
(1) Mineralien (2) Gemüse (3) Bilder.

Identification:

Identify the following:

_____ Acute angle
_____ Chord
_____ Diameter
_____ Hypotenuse
_____ Arms
_____ Obtuse angle
_____ Right angle
_____ Radius
_____ Vertex
_____ Secant
_____ Segment
_____ Tangent





Closely associated with the measurement movement is the survey movement. One of the first surveys of any considerable dimension was a social study of the city of Pittsburgh, begun in 1907. Three years later, P. H. Hanus and E. C. Moore conducted educational surveys of the school systems of Montclair and East Orange, two towns in New Jersey. The first standardized test to be used in gathering data in a school survey was the Courtis Arithmetic Test, which was employed in a school survey conducted in the City of New York in 1911–1912. In the ensuing years the survey was increasingly used to study schools and school systems; at the same time, tests and scales were employed more and more. Surveys vary considerably in scope. Some are comprehensive, seeking to examine all the important aspects of a school system; others are more restricted, concentrating on the study of some special aspect of a school system, such as instructional efficiency, buildings, equipment, or finance. Some

states and some of the larger cities, like New York, have organized bureaus of research, which occasionally resort to surveys as a means of collecting data.

The first scale to be devised was not, strictly speaking, in the domain of education but in that of psychology. Both Cattell and Jastrow had worked with psychological examinations in the late nineteenth century, the former having given them to students at the University of Pennsylvania and the latter having demonstrated them at the Chicago Fair. But despite the fact that mental testing had the enthusiastic support of the American Psychological Association, their development was relatively slow. In fact, for a time, interest in mental testing died down almost to zero. Not until America suddenly discovered the work of Alfred Binet among the Parisian school children did the interest in mental testing once more show its head.

Binet had started his pioneer work in 1895. What he was seeking at the time was some reliable way of distinguishing the bright pupils from the stupid ones. In 1905 Binet and his co-worker, Simon, set out to measure what they termed "general intelligence." Their work produced a scale intended to measure general intelligence. Far from satisfactory, even to its creators, the original Binet-Simon scale was twice revised, once in 1908 and again in 1911. In the United States Dr. H. H. Goddard and Dr. Lewis Terman have contributed significantly to furthering the development of intelligence testing. The former had, by 1910, classified four hundred inmates of the Training School for Feeble Minded Children at Vineland, New Jersey, according to the Binet-Simon tests. In 1916 Terman published the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests, a twelve-page brochure with examinations for most of the years from three to what Terman

called a "superior adult." Terman also provided instructions for estimating the child's "Intelligent Quotient," by dividing his "mental age," as revealed by the mental tests, by his chronological age. In this, however, Terman was not strictly an innovator, since the idea of the intelligence quotient had previously been suggested by William Stern, then of Germany. The World War gave mental testing another boost, producing the Army Alpha and Beta group intelligence scales. Employed to test large groups, these tests at least indicated the possibility of measuring large numbers at the same time. After the war, Terman, Otis, Haggerty, Thorndike, and others devised group tests to be used in schools. Since then the intelligence test has become a regular part of the twentieth-century school, being used in all parts of the world for all sorts of purposes.

2. Child study

Though Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel had clamored for recognition of the child's rights in education, small children were not generally admitted to schools until about a century ago, with the establishment of the kindergarten and the nursery school on something more than a private basis. It was Ellen Key who devised the phrase, "The Century of the Child," a phrase which is generally applied to the latter part of the last century, but which is probably even more appropriately applied to our own era. The early attempts to study the child, his nature and behavior, were, of course, necessarily crude. Pestalozzi, for example, kept a diary of his son's growth, thereby, incidentally, ushering in a method of study which remained in use down to the present. Another early study of a child was made by Charles Darwin, who in 1877 published his "Biographical Sketch of an Infant," in *Mind*. One of the pioneers in modern child study is

William Preyer, who wrote *The Mind of the Child.* Generally speaking, the founder of the movement of child study in the United States is considered to be G. Stanley Hall, who in 1883 published his celebrated study of the "Content of Children's Minds on Entering School." As editor of the *Pedagogical Seminary,* moreover, Hall published numerous articles in the field of scientific child study. With the steady development of psychology as a science, the field of child study naturally made rapid strides. It was just a few years after the turn of the century that Thorndike published his *Notes on Child Study* (1903). In 1904 appeared William Stern's *Psychologie der frühen Kindheit* (Psychology of Early Childhood), probably the first comprehensive study of the child up to the age of six. Subsequently revised and enlarged, this work was translated into English by Anne Barwell. With the advent of behaviorism and psychoanalysis, child study received fresh impetus, being approached from new angles. Behaviorism increased our knowledge particularly of the very young child.

Child study has been greatly interested in the "growth concept," investigating those factors that stimulate or retard the child's growth. Physical examinations throw the searchlight on such matters as physical defects, malnutrition, defective teeth, poor vision or hearing, or bad posture. Armed with a knowledge of such defects, the educator, assisted by experts in the various fields concerned, can devise a remedial program to help the youngster to overcome his weaknesses and, if possible, to grow healthfully and normally. As far as the child's mental growth is concerned, of particular interest here are his ability to learn, his achievements, and those factors which impede or retard his progress. Here again, a program is organized which is adjusted to the special needs of the in-

dividual; nor is the child's moral development overlooked.

The twentieth-century school has definitely harnessed child study to its complex work. Most closely associated with the movement is the growth of the modern nursery school. Ordinarily, this institution accepts young children between the ages of two and four, though in many instances there is considerable variation in this respect. As has been indicated elsewhere, both England and Soviet Russia have given considerable attention to the promotion of this type of education.* Not only did the Fisher Act of 1918 encourage such schools, but there is also an active Nursery Schools Association dedicated to the task of promoting such education. Notable in the development of the movement are Grace Owen and Margaret Macmillan, who organized the nursery school in the poor sections of London and Manchester. In 1920 specialists from Miss Macmillan's school introduced similar work at the Teachers College of Columbia University. Today there are several hundred nursery schools throughout the land. Sometimes they are connected with institutions specializing in the study of children; sometimes they are organized by charitable organizations and churches; and in some instances they are included in the regular public school system. Stated briefly, the nursery school is really a nursery, run on up-to-date scientific lines, and catering to the child's all-round growth.

3. Curricular reconstruction

Changing the curriculum is an old practice; it is, in fact, probably as old as the school itself. In the past, however, curricular changes were generally slow. They

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*See p. 371.

For a discussion of the work of the Harriet Johnson Nursery School see pp. 47, 48.

usually represented a gradual adjustment on the part of the school to social and intellectual changes. Pressure from outside the school was sometimes instrumental in adding new subjects, but once such subjects were added, they tended to become traditional fixtures. Latin, for example, was once a very practical subject, since all educated men spoke it. But with the rise of the vernacular, the practical reason for teaching Latin in the school vanished. The same applies to geometry, much of which was once needed in everyday life. Until the scientific method began to be applied to the study of education, an experimental approach to the study of the curriculum was virtually impossible. Before the World War only a few curricular studies were undertaken; but since then thousands of such investigations have been made. Among the first earnest efforts to evolve a scientific theory of the curriculum were those of Bobbitt, Charters, and Bonser. Today the curriculum is under constant surveillance by experts, and to summarize even briefly the many contributions in this particular field would embrace perhaps even more than a single volume. The special bibliographies dealing with spelling, reading, arithmetic, and handwriting in the elementary school include hundreds of titles. The same is true for the subjects taught in the secondary school. Teachers College of Columbia University has organized a "curriculum laboratory" containing thousands of curricula.

In organizing the materials of instruction, there are today two leading points of view. On the one hand, there is that which organizes courses according to the demands of the subject. On the other hand, there is that which seeks to organize curricula on the basis of activities which are natural to the pupils. In the latter case, it is sometimes said that "the child is taught"; while in the former

case "the subject is taught." In the first instance, English grammar is made up of parts of speech and their use; of sentence and paragraph structure. Textbooks are organized logically, proceeding from the easy to the difficult. Formal grammar is launched with the simple uses of parts of speech, going on from them to the more complicated and subtle uses. Assignments are in terms of the demands of the subject; and the learner's exercises are derived from the general principles he is to master. In the second instance, the logical development of subject matter is not of the first importance. Assignments are given in the form of letters, or descriptions, or other types of written expression. Whatever grammar is taught is presented as it is needed to facilitate correct and clear expression.

While there are various approaches to curricular reconstruction, there are also a few points on which most authorities appear to agree:

1. Curricular objectives must be formulated, and all subsequent steps must be taken in accordance with these objectives.
2. The formulation of such objectives demands a consideration of (a) the world in which we live, (b) the kind of world in which we should live, and (c) our philosophy of the educative process.
3. Materials of instruction must be selected, organized, and administered in accordance with the formulated objectives.
4. The preceding steps should be tested, and the results should be evaluated.
5. Since curricular reconstruction is a perennial task, the preceding procedures must be continued.

Of the leading techniques used in curricular reconstruction, the two most common ones are job analysis and the review of existing curricula in connection with educational aims.

It has been estimated that it takes at least a generation for new ideas to become part of the established practice;

in some cases, as a matter of fact, schools have made no substantial changes for an even greater time. While curricular research has accelerated considerably during the last decade or so, the feeling still persists that the materials of instruction still require considerable revision to meet the needs of contemporary society, with its recent social and economic changes and readjustments.

B. The Development of the Psychological Movement

1. Background

It was the Swiss educator and reformer, Pestalozzi, who, just before the dawn of the nineteenth century, undertook, as he phrased it, to psychologize education. In his footsteps eventually followed Herbart, a scholarly German, and Froebel, the father of the modern kindergarten. In striving to inject some sort of psychological basis into the labyrinthian processes of education, this trio left its ineffaceable mark on educational history. Their findings were momentous but, unfortunately, they were also often fantastic and speculative. The fact is that most of their labors in the acres of psychology were seriously limited by their crude and primitive methodology. Psychology itself did not emerge from its shuttered cloister until well on in the nineteenth century, when it freed itself from the grip of metaphysics. The first conceptions of psychology as a science of any considerable scope appeared in the monumental work of Wilhelm Wundt, in his *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie.* Published in 1874, it eventually passed through a half-dozen editions, the last one appearing in 1911. From the lecture halls of Wundt marched a long line of disciples, many of whom were, in time, to become prominent psychologists in their own right. Among them was the American, Wil-

liam James, the same James who wrote *Pragmatism* and *Talks to Teachers*. Though he often professed an intense dislike for the ardors of experimental work, it was James, nevertheless, who first garbed American psychology in the debutante robes of an experimental science. The precise time has escaped the historians, but it must have been in 1874 or 1875 when James rigged up some crude apparatus in a tiny room at Harvard, thereby establishing the first psychological laboratory, not only in Cambridge but in the world.

From these simple beginnings, psychology, both in its pure and educational estates, has made magnificent strides. Today, no self-esteeming university anywhere would be without a psychological laboratory any more than a gymnasium. Hundreds of courses in the subject are offered, and thousands of pages are annually inscribed in print. Many cities, both here and abroad, have established psychological clinics whose work they have often related to the solution of educational problems. One of the chief scientific glories of Hamburg, before the rise of the Nazis, was its excellent psychological institute, where all kinds of educational perplexities were explored. In many lands, but especially in the United States, psychology has become such a valuable aid to education as to make the job of school psychologist more and more common, at least in the first-rate school systems.

2. Diverse types of psychology

Over modern psychology float many banners, for as in the case of medicine, psychology works in diversified ways. Among the established schools of psychology—to cite only a few—are the structuralists and functionalists, the behaviorists and the Gestaltists.

a. Structuralism. Like functionalism, structuralism

has traditionally concerned itself with the study of consciousness, employing as its chief weapon of approach the method of self-observation or introspection. Among its early and distinguished spokesmen have been Wundt and Titchener. Like the functionalist, the structuralist identifies mind with consciousness, but unlike his rival, he does not accept it as a biological function of the brain. Instead, he prefers to view it as an intricate formation of psychic elements. Structurally perceived, every phenomenon of experience has its site in the nervous system. Throughout some of their best years, the structuralists have labored to analyze the human brain into its simplest elements. Some of their finest efforts have been in the domain of sensation and the sense organs. Here, to a certain extent, objective methods can be readily used, with the result that a considerable amount of scientific data has been amassed. Interestingly enough, of all the mental elements, sensation is the only one on whose simplicity the structuralists seem to agree.

b. **Functionalism.** On the roster of functionalism will be found such lustrous names as James, Dewey, Carr, and others. Starting with the premise that man is a living organism, a product of heredity and environment, the functionalist is interested not merely in what the phenomena of consciousness are, but in *what they do.* Our mental life, as reflected through our feelings, sensations and thoughts, is the functionalist's main sphere of interest. Since he is primarily concerned with use or function, the functionalist obviously must give some attention to human behavior; and in this respect he has occupied himself considerably with instincts and habits. His study of behavior problems stemming from unaccustomed difficulties and the efforts made to overcome these obstacles has yielded some valuable clues to our understanding of

the psychology of learning. The fact cannot be overlooked that at least part of the functionalists' work has served magnificently to clear away many of the fantastic notions once held about the successive steps involved in the development of our mental function from birth to maturity.

c. Behaviorism. The behaviorists are of more recent origin than their structural and functional brethren. Registered as behaviorist are Watson, Hunter, and Lashley. Among these, Watson is generally looked upon as the sire of the movement. Behaviorists are not always in accord about their beliefs, with the consequence that there have been clashes in their midst. There are, indeed, several varieties of behaviorism. Like the biologist, the behaviorist regards man as an animal. He is *homo sapiens,* chief among the primates—and that is all. Consciousness, once so important to psychology, has been discarded; likewise introspection as a method of study. Behaviorism reserves its investigations for those activities which are observable to an outsider, aided if necessary by scientific instruments. In the language of the behaviorist, life is simply a set of physiological responses resulting from physical stimuli. Directly and automatically, all behavior responses are the products of physical stimuli. Furthermore, for the behaviorist, a response is simply a human activity capable of external observation. There is, in addition, a direct and unescapable relation between stimulus and response, so inevitable, in fact, as to be subject to control by the simple modification of one or the other, without regard for any influence from the central nervous system or from consciousness. Viewed behavioristically, our personality in its total aspects, good and bad, is simply the result of such conditioning.

Behaviorism's great claim to distinction is its emphasis

on strictly objective investigation. In its quest into the mysteries of human behavior, it has consistently held itself to a consideration of only those factors capable of observation and analysis. Its findings, while necessarily circumscribed, are admirable for their painstaking technique. Into psychology, the behaviorist has brought the familiar scientific methods of physics and biology to a much greater extent than any of his predecessors. Moreover, his caustic criticisms of some of the ancient and flyblown assumptions of the more conventional brands of psychology have tended to bring new growth and development to psychology as a whole.

d. Gestalt. Gestalt psychology is the child of structuralism, even though it hotly rejects mental elements. Arriving in the United States officially in 1923, the Gestalt theory has had an increasing vogue. In fact, some of its American apostles, like Dr. Robert Owen, have proclaimed Gestalt to be the sole psychological hypothesis that will endure the wear and tear of time. Before it was imported from the Reich, Gestalt psychology had busied itself modestly with experiments on human perception. But oddly enough, it was not until Köhler produced his account of the intelligence of the apes on the Isle of Teneriffe that Gestalt began to draw any serious attention from America. Gestalt is the German word for *form* or *figure*, and this, for the Gestaltist, is the basic attribute of the mind. Everything one experiences has a definite and inherent pattern, or as it is sometimes called, a *configuration*. The phases of any experience in their sum at any moment are integrated. Does a man attend a play? Then clearly his overloaded stomach, his aching feet, and his ridiculous companions attend with him. Whatever his reactions, they are affected by consciousness and environment. In the whole pattern of experi-

ence some elements will assume a leading and dominant importance, while others will be reduced to the ground for the stressed factors. Essential for the pattern, these ground elements act somewhat in the manner of the background of a portrait in lending it its characteristic tone. The pattern of experience is not necessarily permanent, nor is it always the same. At another time it may assemble itself with a new set of elements playing the lead, now thrusting the former dominant ones into the background. The factor behind such changes, according to Gestalt theory, is the goal of the moment. Configurations, it should be noted, are not looked upon by orthodox Gestaltists as mere mechanical events; on the contrary, they form themselves "towards a definite end." Holding that man knows what he is going to do and how he is going to do it, Köhler has asserted that "we experience the live and dynamical context determining one state this way and that change another way. Moreover, we feel where they come from and where they go in those instances. Above all we may experience *why* . . . . a given effect should be just the one we find growing out of it." Thus the stress of Gestalt obviously seems to be on purpose as the integrating element in any experience.

As has been suggested, thus far the most significant work of Gestalt has been not with normal humans in the school room, but rather with abnormal cases and also with animals. Like their psychological brethren laboring under different hypotheses, the Gestaltists have not escaped the charge that some of their claims are extravagant, based on theory rather than experiment. Let it be recorded, however, that the Gestaltist views have led to a re-examination of our traditional views of learning. Stimulus and response they look upon not

as something separate, but rather as an organic whole, a behavior pattern. For Gestalt, the unity or integratedness of an experience is significant; nor can its particular stress on the momentary background lying behind human behavior be overlooked.

e. Psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis is another importation from the Continent. Teaching that the key to the more mysterious and inscrutable ways of human behavior is to be found in unconscious motivation, the psychoanalytic doctrines have played a more significant part in medicine than in education. The reason, I believe, is easy to find, for, at bottom, psychoanalysis concentrates on abnormal rather than on normal behavior. The efforts to attach psychoanalysis to education have been more deliberate and determined in the Old World than over here. The Swiss city of Zurich, a mecca for the devotees of the study of the unconscious, has brought forth a scientific magazine, *Zeitschrift für psycho-analytische Pädagogik,* exclusively dedicated to the study of psychoanalysis in education. Significantly enough, most of its contributors display the M. D., and most of its discussions deal with the behavior disorders of children.

The father of modern psychoanalysis is Sigmund Freud. Active in Austria before the Nazi deluge forced him out, Freud has bestowed a threefold classification on the human psyche. There is first the *id,* which is instinctive and unconscious; then there is the *ego,* which is largely conscious and rational; and finally there is the *super-ego,* which is moral and corresponds to ethical conscience. In the unconscious are seated the primal human urges. Some of these, no longer accepted as "good" in modern society, have been *repressed* or inhibited. That is to say, they have been consciously rejected or disowned. According to the Freudians, the

force of erotic instinct, or as they prefer to call it, *libido,* is on hand even in the tender days of human babyhood, when it is manifested toward the mother. She, in Freudian parlance, is the infant's first love. Where such impulses are subsequently not directed towards other objects they are said to be *fixated.* In their integrated form they become the much publicized Oedipus complex, which reveals itself especially in dreams. Interpreted in the Freudian manner, dreams are simply the revelations of repressed desires. Where erotic impulses have turned toward nonsexual objects, they are said to have been sublimated.

Reinterpreting and modifying the Freudian doctrines, Carl Jung has insisted that beyond the personal unconscious of Freud, there is a collective *super-personal unconscious* composed of racial images. Every man has an unconscious feminine nature, the *anima;* and every woman a corresponding *animus.* Unlike the Freudians, however, the followers of Jung impart a much smaller role to sex, preferring the theory of psychological types to explain personality. According to this, one is either *introverted* or *extroverted.* In the former event, the whole force of one's psyche focuses itself inward on one's own self; in the latter case, however, it reaches without to other persons and things. If one is in the first group, then one is shy and retiring; while in the second case, one is much more forward, perhaps even somewhat of a joiner and a backslapper. In attempting to work out his theory in somewhat of an experimental way, Jung has further classified his extraverts and introverts into several special categories.

Taking still another tack, Alfred Adler deemed the inferiority complex the great motivating force of human nature. Such a complex is acquired in early infancy.

Its cause, according to Adler and those who follow him, is the feeling of weakness, inadequacy or helplessness that is experienced in trying to cope with one's world. A physical or mental deficiency, real or fancied, will augment it. It is the inferiority complex, so Adler teaches, that makes its holders lust to dominate their environment.

The critics of psychoanalysis stand divided. There are those, for example, who lift it and its founders to the stratosphere, and who perceive in its teachings the marvelous philtre which will cure all our ailments. Then there are those who see in it nothing but a dangerous pestilence. In Hitler's Third Reich, the Nazis have clapped the ban on the writings of most of the psychoanalysts, and have arrested or exiled most of the psychoanalytic practitioners. Most of the dicta announced by the psychoanalysts have been derived from the case studies of individuals, who in most instances were neurotic, mentally sick, or emotionally deranged. What general conclusions can be drawn from these cases is still a matter of debate. However, as one of several ways of exploring the intricate mazes of human behavior, the psychoanalytic technique has excellent uses. Particularly does this appear to be so in the study of emotions and personality.

f. **Educational psychology.** Not only are there all sorts of psychologies, but their special fields of operation are almost remarkable for their number. Where psychology is harnessed to a special field it is commonly known as *applied psychology*. Such is the nature of educational psychology.

Examine even casually any one of the scores of texts on educational psychology and you will discover that the problems engaging its attention are various and many. To begin with, the educational psychologist is interested

in that nature of man which is capable of modification through education; likewise in man's natural interests and the emotional drives that impel him to learn. Like the biologist, the educational psychologist is immensely concerned with human differences. He wants to know their nature and variety, their range, and, of course, their bearing on education. If the philosopher has set up elaborate postulates regarding knowledge and its meaning, then it is the psychologist who has sought to unravel the part it plays in learning. If the sociologist has discoursed on the interrelationship between individual and environment, then it is the psychologist who has been interested in the effects produced by that environment on learning. What activities facilitate the acquisition and retention of knowledge? How can we best provide for the education of the feelings and emotions? How can we help the development of a healthy integrated personality? These are just a sampling of some of the questions that have been probed by the educational psychologist.

(1) *Instincts.* During the past decade or so, the rafters of the psychological arena have been charred black by the heated controversies over the number of instincts. A considerable part of these disputations has been largely academic and ultimately, no doubt, of not too much significance. At bottom, the roots of the whole debate are imbedded partly in an unsatisfactory definition of the term *instinct,* and partly in the elusive and often incomplete nature of the instinctive tendencies of most members of the human race. The fact is that most of the available psychological evidence regarding instincts is empirical rather than experimental. As might be anticipated, the listings of instincts vary considerably. Turning from one authority to others, we find

that there are those who hold that there are no human instincts, that there are two basic ones, that there are so many as to be uncountable.

Thorndike has cast instincts into three groups to include those reactions (1) related to food and self-preservation, (2) those concerned with tendencies to respond to the behavior of others, and (3) those dealing with bodily movements and cerebral activities. From Woodworth has come another inventory, again with three classifications, thus: (1) satisfaction of bodily needs, (2) social responses, and (3) play activities. Still another tripartite grouping has emerged from Gates, as follows: (1) responses to bodily or organic conditions, (2) responses to objects or events in the environment, (3) responses to the presence or activities of other human beings. Among the more eager of modern champions of instincts, the late William McDougall as far back as 1908 listed seven major instincts: revulsion, curiosity, flight, pugnacity, self-abasement, self-assertion, and the parental instinct. Subsequently he added laughter. Then came distress, food-seeking, acquisitiveness, pairing, and mating. Some of McDougall's lists also have construction. In contrast to McDougall's large roll of instincts, that of Watson has shrunk almost to nothing, and accepts as unadulterated instincts only fear, love, and rage.

(2) *Emotions.* Our knowledge of the emotions, as in the case of the instincts, has been undergoing revision. Not so long ago it was commonly accepted that we inherit patterns of hatred, love, fear, sympathy, humor, and pathos. But once again, based largely on empirical data, this belief has been found unwarranted by some of the newer experimental psychologists. Led by the studies of Watson, many students of the human psyche now lean

to the view that children under the age of three possess only three primary emotions of fear, anger, and love. These very likely are native, but the more complex emotional reactions are held to have been acquired through experience. Biologically, moreover, the emotions, inherited and acquired, are organic, manifesting bodily changes in the form of glandular secretions, blood pressure, digestion, and respiration. Whatever the final verdict as to which emotions are inherited and which acquired, all of them are intricately commingled with our daily living. Emotion is the stream that runs through our prejudices and enthusiasms, our likes and dislikes, our interests and attitudes. That there are educational implications in our direction of emotionalized behavior is obvious.

(3) *Capacities and differences.* Like his scientific kinsmen engaged in other spheres, the psychologist is concerned with the finding and formulation of laws and principles. Because such laws must possess general validity holding for the rank and file of all men, psychologists and educators have tended in the past to bestow their studious attention on groups rather than individuals. Underlying such efforts, I suspect, was the notion that people are more alike than different. Not so long ago, however, psychologists began to navigate their experimental craft in different waters, and since then the individual and his traits have come in for considerably more study. The realization has now dawned that, psychologically, people vary just as much as they do biologically, or perhaps even more. Not only are such variations present, but a proper understanding of them is today deemed essential for sound educational procedure.

Inspected at random, an ordinary class of school children will display vividly not only the usual observable

variations in height and weight, but also in teeth and eyes, tonsils and adenoids. There will be differences that are largely social, so that you will perceive liars and bullies and leaders of genuine fabric. Psychologically, you will discover I. Q.'s covering the whole mental scale. You will note special talents of high caliber in music, art, and mechanical skill. You will detect some for whom mathematics is simple and a delight; others who excel in reading comprehension or reading rate; and still others who shine in putting their ideas into the written word.

So significant for education are these individual capacities, that quite some effort has gone into their study. And let it be recorded that here, at least, the endeavors of the educational psychologists have not been unrewarded. Not only have they produced interesting works of purely academic importance, but they have also created many first-rate aids for the practical school man. And as has been indicated elsewhere (pp. 125 ff.), it is today possible not only to detect particular capacities, but also to gauge them quantitatively.

Diversity in human ability in the acquisition of knowledges and skills has been treated well and thoroughly by the contemporary educational psychologist. On the other hand, concerning the more imponderable differences in human temperament, emotions, and sensitiveness, we are still in uncertain darkness. Once this simple fact has been grasped, the occurrence of what seem to be utterly incomprehensible disciplinary conflicts should cease to offer any cause for wonder. The truth seems to be that, temperamentally and emotionally, children are no more uniform than they are physically. In the past, teachers, unfortunately, have been either ignorant or unmindful of this elementary matter. Uniformity

has generally been their yardstick of justice. And thus the thick-hided, whose complacency could not be rippled by a cannon, were accorded precisely the same treatment as the sensitive and gentle-minded. Today it has become more and more evident that such a procedure is not only unfair but also often quite harmful. It has been found, for example, that a child's dislike of school often lies not so much in its coercion or possible dullness, but in the incalculable torture that has been done to the child's inner self. Educational psychology, unfortunately, has not yet been able to find a foolproof method for dealing with such manifold perplexities; but on the other hand, it has at least uncovered sufficient serious facts to make educators fully cognizant of the vast importance of these matters.*

(4) *Racial differences.* There are still other differences besides those already noted. But these are mainly differences induced by race or sex. It was during the World War that the first comprehensive data regarding differences between whites, negroes, and Indians were compiled. Through the celebrated Army Alpha tests it appeared that the whites were superior in their ability to do abstract thinking. Subsequent studies by others seem to have substantiated this conclusion. But it should be noted that in no case do the differences appear large enough to warrant any general claim for racial superiority. Ferguson, as a matter of fact, has demonstrated that, despite lower averages, there are relatively few whites with an intelligence superior to that of the highest of the negroes; and again, there are correspondingly few negroes with a lesser intelligence than that of

* For an excellent study of these problems see Schohaus, W., *The Dark Places in Education,* Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1932.

the dullest of the whites. There seem to be important temperamental differences, but to what extent these are innate and peculiar to the race and to what extent they are due to environmental factors is still uncertain. Likewise, there seems to be no real evidence to warrant the conclusion that the white man is superior to the other races in his capacities for manual dexterity of any sort. Anthropologists who have applied themselves steadily to the problem of racial differences are still far from any solution. On one thing, however, they seem more or less agreed, and that is that in the light of the meager evidence on hand, it is utterly rash to talk about a pure Aryan race, and even more absurd to laud its alleged superiority.

(5) *Interest and learning.* The idea that interest is an essential basis for effective learning is of ancient vintage. In point of fact, many of the world's most eminent school men, including such stalwarts as Quintilian, Vittorino da Feltre, Erasmus, and others, subscribed to the idea in one form or another. Not until recently, however, have the educational psychologists put the proposition under their experimental lenses. Their several studies at various places, both here and abroad, have all tended to substantiate what heretofore has been only an assumption. Interest, it has been found, is not only important in efficient learning—it is almost indispensable. Yet despite all this new and accumulating experience, educators are still lamentably far apart when it comes to the practical task of determining the actual role to be played by interest in education. Indeed, the old feud between the advocates of interest and the proponents of effort has never ceased. The same factions are still peppering away at one another, the only discernible difference being that they are cam-

paigning under new flags. On the one hand are the so-called *progressives,* who proclaim interest to be of dominant importance, with all questions of curriculum, organization, and methods related to it. On the other hand are the *essentialists* who, though they concede the general theory in favor of interest, yet would subordinate it to the rank of a contributing factor.*

3. Different views of learning

If there are so many different psychologies, then there should be no cause for wonder that there are also different psychologies of learning. Traditionally, learning used to be viewed simply as the acquiring and piling up of knowledge. This, interestingly enough, is still the common view of the layman. There were, of course, many ways of imparting knowledge. Where the process was directed by a teacher who had risen to the higher stretches of educational craftsmanship, such learning was usually launched through the senses, including, as it proceeded, the building of images and concepts. These were to serve as the buttresses of knowledge, making it understandable enough to hold off poor memory and other foes. In the hands of a less gifted teacher the process was vastly different, and generally nothing more than mind-stuffing of dismal and forbidding variety.

With the entrance of the behaviorists into the educational arena, learning was looked upon more as a form of habit formation, of conditioning, than the building up of ideas. Given a stimulus, there would be a response; and to get the desirable response, what was essential was the right stimulus. Learning thus conceived, as some of the critics of behaviorism have pointed out, is still mechanical.

* Fuller details of this controversy will be found on pp. 120 ff.

Today this view of learning is no longer quite so fashionable; and even its adherents have tended to become somewhat more judicious. If learning, thus conceived, tended to be piecemeal and fragmentary, then under Gestalt direction its stress has been altogether different. By the Gestaltist, learning is interpreted not simply as a response to a stimulus, but rather as an organization and reorganization of behavior, flowing from the interaction of a growing organism and its world. Memorized facts are no longer the substance of learning; nor are conditioned reflexes. Learning, as seen through Gestalt eyes, is not so simple. For the Gestaltist, the whole organism is participating in an act of learning—and not just part of it. For the Gestaltist, moreover, learning involves not fragmentary responses, but responses organized into patterns.

4. Transfer of training

In the nineteenth century it was generally believed that the study of such subjects as Latin or mathematics "trained the mind." Traditionally, the mind was thought to be comprised of *faculties* of various kinds. Certain subjects, it was felt, moreover, would best develop certain faculties. Geometry, originally a very practical subject, continued to be taught after it had lost its original reason for being, on the ground that it trained the reason. History, it was argued, trained the memory. Drawing polished the power of observation. Turning to the other subjects, even newer ones like sewing and manual training were often advocated and defended because of their alleged special qualities to train and develop our various powers. Once a certain subject had trained a particular power, that power was held to be usable in any other subject or field. Accordingly, the accuracy

manifested in the workshop when a pupil built a table was thought to carry over to a general habit of accuracy. This is the doctrine of transfer of training.

Interestingly enough, it was not until the present century that the finger of doubt was put on the theory. One experiment after another was run off to test the doctrine of transfer, and in no case was it completely upheld. Where once it had been highly esteemed, it now lost much of its glamor. Where once transfer had been vigorously affirmed by the practising school man, it was now just as vigorously denied. But the psychologists, continuing their labors, were inclined to be somewhat more restrained in their conclusions. Following Thorndike, some began to assert that all learning was specific, and that transfer, if it took place at all, did so only on the basis of *identical elements*.* The study of arithmetic, for example, should be of some help in the domain of algebra, because basically of a similarity of content. If, in addition, the habit of reasoning and that of making applications have been developed in the student, then very likely the transfer may be still more potent. Other psychologists, following Judd, have maintained that transfer occurs only in so far as our experiences have been generalized in the act of learning. More recent experimentation has ushered in still another view of transfer. This regards learning as widespread, affecting broad patterns in functional organization. It considers the mind as an entity with itself and with the whole organism.

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*See Orata, Pedro T., *The Theory of Identical Elements*, Ohio State University, 1928, for a discussion of the various theories.

C. Educating Exceptional Children

1. Defective children

As has been stated elsewhere, twentieth-century education seeks for each child an education which will be in harmony with his native capacities. There are, unfortunately, many thousands of youngsters who, by virtue of their inheritance or the influence of their environment, are so constituted that they can profit very little from what the average school has to offer. In this group there are children who vary from the normal in either direction. Among them are the undernourished, the physically handicapped, and the mentally defective, as well as those who excel in mind and body. At bottom, society seeks, wherever possible, to build up in such children a feeling of confidence and self-respect, and to increase their individual contentment, besides, of course, making them as self-supporting as possible. And to meet their varying needs, many forms of special education have been developed. There are, for example, something like eighty-five thousand blind persons in this country. For them the Federal Government annually makes a special appropriation to print books with raised letters to be distributed to state schools. Each state, furthermore, is financially responsible for the education of the blind, providing for their education either in its own school or subsidizing their education in an outside institution. Most of the school systems in the larger cities have made special provision for the teaching of the blind. Such education includes not only reading and writing, but, as in the case of the deaf, it also includes vocational training. The old "sign language," or method of communicating ideas by finger movements, is being replaced by the "oral" method, by which the deaf pupil is taught to

read lip movements and to use his vocal organs in speech.

It has been estimated that about two per cent of America's children of school age are mentally too retarded to do ordinary school work. Their retardation, of course, varies from that of the borderline case to the hopeless. Obviously, such children cannot profit from the work of the average school. The modern movement to educate the feeble-minded has its origins in the pioneer work of Itard and Seguin, two Frenchmen of the nineteenth century. The latter came to the United States in the middle of the century, and continued his experimental work. Both men influenced Maria Montessori, and many of her educational principles were derived from their pioneer work. Seguin stressed manual work for mental defectives, seeking through it to appeal to the mind. He stressed sensory and motor work, and made considerable use of concrete materials, such as pictures, patterns, papers, clay, sand, etc. With the development of psychology as a science, the education of mental defectives naturally has tended to make significant advances. Psychological tests to select and classify the feeble-minded have been of particular value. Today it is generally recognized that the factors involving a judgment regarding mental status may be quite intricate, and that in the making of such decisions a clinical procedure conducted by competent persons is necessary. Most progressive school systems have organized special classes for the feeble-minded. In addition, many clinics for studying proper methods of teaching the defective have been established.

2. Delinquent children

With the establishment in New York City in 1825 of the House of Refuge, a reformatory for juvenile offenders,

the problems involved in child delinquency began to draw some serious attention. Similar institutions soon began to be established in other parts of the country. Some states, in fact, created special State Industrial Schools. Just before the end of the century, in 1899, the first juvenile court was organized in Chicago. This, among other things, marked the recognition that, in the case of juvenile offenders, special and modified court procedure was desirable. From the United States the idea of the juvenile court spread to other lands, and today it is found in virtually every civilized country. Not only has the work of the juvenile court made rapid and progressive strides during the last quarter of a century, but even more significant have been the various studies of the causes of youthful delinquency. Today it is generally recognized that in the case of delinquency, as in the case of disease, prevention is far more desirable than cure. Significant also is the trend to put the delinquent in as normal a social environment as possible instead of secluding him. In promoting the child's welfare, the co-operation of all the agencies affecting him is sought. For this purpose, coordinating councils have been established in some states. Generally, this is made up of representatives of the juvenile court, the parent-teacher organizations, and such groups as are interested in child welfare. In 1921 the Commonwealth Fund of New York issued its Program for the Prevention of Delinquency, which has had no little influence.

3. The intellectually superior

a. **Background.** Time was when the many particular needs of the mentally gifted child were completely unknown. Indeed, not infrequently the mentally superior youngster was regarded as something odd, more or less

contrary to nature. Various attempts had, of course, been made to snare an accurate, objective understanding of the nature of intelligence, but it was not until Binet began work in his Paris laboratory that any really scientific foundation was laid. But Monsieur Binet, as is well known, was looking for a method which would select the mentally inferior rather than the superior. Consequently, for a considerable period of years Binet's original purpose remained the paramount aim of his army of imitators and followers. Educators, benevolent but misguided, were then focusing their attention on the intellectually subnormal, in the hope of reclaiming mental derelicts. Since those days, however, educators have come to realize the colossal significance of individual differences in the mentality of school children. More and more, school men have become aware of the importance of uncovering those unexplored regions of the child psyche wherein lie vast and untapped treasures applicable to a solution of the needs of the gifted child. Writing in the *Journal of Educational Psychology* some three decades ago, William Stern, then active in the German city of Breslau, was one of the first to call attention to the educational needs of the gifted. By his call for an about-face in our traditional treatment of the gifted youngster, Stern became the pacemaker for a movement which, during the last few years, has gathered considerable strength in America as well as abroad. The keynote of this movement is well expressed in the slogans of some of its advocates, who bid us to "put the right man in the right place," and to "clear the track for the gifted."

b. Terman's study. Careful and reliable studies of superior-minded children are, unfortunately, still not too numerous. A number of American investigators, however, have done some meritorious preliminary work.

Whipple, Coy, Helen Davis, and Terman are particularly noteworthy in this territory. One of the most extensive and undoubtedly also one of the most accurate of the few available studies of gifted children is that undertaken by Professor Terman and his California associates. As a starting point for his investigation, Professor Terman, interestingly enough, relied on the teacher's judgment, requiring the teacher to nominate his brightest and his youngest pupil. Some 1,400 more or less exceptionally bright children were thus selected. Subjected, however, to the more discerning judgment of a mental test, this battalion eventually shrank to some 650 children. All these, however, possessed an intelligence quotient of at least 140, which, in the Terman language, is accepted as "genius." Besides this selected group there was also what was known as a control group, composed of some 600 unselected youngsters.

Studying these children from several viewpoints—anthropological, sociological, physiological, psychological—Terman was able to pluck some rather significant conclusions. His results showed the exceptionally bright child to be very much above the average in general health and physical growth. This discovery, while not new and always more or less suspected by modern psychologists, runs contrary to the general popular belief holding that those who were strong in the head were perforce frail in body or delicate in health. Interesting also was the fact that in the various character tests administered, the mentally exceptional children rated above the average. Says Terman in this connection: "Trait ratings and social data give no evidence that gifted children tend more often than others to be lacking in social adaptability or leadership. However, they are probably less superior in social, emotional and psychophysical traits than in

intellectual and volitional traits." In other words, even though the adequacy of the administered character tests may be questioned, there appeared to be no real reason to believe that a bright child developed *only* on mental lines. Another interesting discovery in the Terman study was the fact that the gifted child showed a potent play interest and possessed in addition a greater knowledge of games than did the unselected children. That the superior child is inclined to play less than other children seemed to be true, but this was due to the constant competition between the play interest and a vast colony of other interests. In studying the various intellectual interests of the gifted child, Terman found—as might well have been expected—that the bright child is very much interested in books, and that these are generally much more difficult than those preferred by the child with an average intelligence. History, biography, travel, and informational fiction constitute the main ingredients of the gifted child's reading diet. Interesting also is Terman's finding that a large number of the children selected were related to prominent individuals, living or dead. Concerning the educational opportunities offered these bright children, Terman himself found that, on the whole, they have enjoyed no special program of instruction. Indeed, usually they had not even been promoted any more rapidly than the average child. And yet, as has been hinted, their knowledge ordinarily was much greater than that of the unselected youngsters.

c. Selecting the gifted for special education. (1) *The intelligence test.* Studded with difficulties, which, sad to state, are too frequently overlooked by practical teachers, the matter of proper and effective selection of the gifted becomes an important problem indeed. The teacher's judgment is, of course, no longer in good

standing. Well-meaning as a schoolmaster may be, his human propensity to make mistakes, together with his complete inability to assume absolute objectivity have deservedly put the teacher in a bad light as a competent judge of human intelligence. In place of the teacher's judgment our modern age has substituted the various intelligence tests, which, though opposed by many, are nonetheless considered even by their more caustic opponents as more objective and accurate than any teacher could ever hope to be. In most selections thus far undertaken in this country, the intelligence test has, therefore, played a leading role. Sometimes, it is true, the teacher's judgment was given a rather strong supporting consideration. The tendency to consider the character of the child's school work, particularly in the light of the many contemporary achievement tests, also has been growing. In the main, however, the first two criteria have been virtually the sole determiners of gifted children in any selection of such youngsters. This some educators have deplored, since the selection of the exceptionally bright usually represents something more than a merely psychological proposition. A selection, they contend, is seldom made solely for its own sake. The practical purpose of most selections—there have not been very many—is to pick out the superior-minded children so that they may be trained and educated in a way commensurate with their unusual ability. While the psychologist may perhaps be quite properly satisfied with his finding of a quantitative symbol purporting to represent the child's intelligence, the educator, on the other hand, in order to fulfill his function properly, must necessarily possess a much fuller picture of the child he is to educate.

One of the best-developed and most carefully worked

out methods of selection, I believe, was devised not in this country but on the other side of the Atlantic. Indeed, the various problems presented by the gifted child seem to have been particularly appreciated in the Old World. Curiously enough, the World War was not without influence in this domain. The grim lesson of having to put every man where he properly belonged and functioned most efficiently has not been forgotten. In the Old World, interestingly enough, one finds many imitations of what might be called the American method of selecting bright children. Putting the intelligence test in the foreground, the advocates of this method give only slight consideration to other criteria. For them, a very simple, necessarily mechanized mental test, usually administered to a group of children by a teacher, and generally within the short time of thirty minutes or so, is sufficient for the end in view, namely, the selection of the most gifted youngsters for special education. Most American teachers are, of course, more or less familiar with this procedure.

(2) *William Stern.* Opposed to all this was the late William Stern, formerly of Hamburg—the same man who many years ago tried to rouse slumbering educators in the hope of making them understand the needs of the intellectually superior children. Boiled down to a few words, Stern's contention was that in the selection of the gifted a decision often is made concerning the child's whole future. The youngster's destiny, Stern contended, might hinge on the "yes" or "no" of selection. No source of information, however small, must be left untouched; and no criteria unsought. In the intricate network of data there should be woven every possible thread of available knowledge. Parent and teacher, physician and psychologist, should work together in an

attempt to reach the wisest, most correct, and most satisfactory decision.

Acting merely as a sort of scout, the teacher, according to Stern's plan, was requested by the Hamburg educational authorities to observe his students carefully throughout the school year and to note especially such characteristics which might indicate a superior mind. Lest the teacher's watch be too haphazard and unsystematic, he was required to fill out for each of his students an observational record, which, revised from time to time, finally reached a fair degree of perfection. The data thus gathered were mostly qualitative, but used in conjunction with the quantitative criteria obtained through the mental test, they limned a rather fair picture of the child's personality. In the final decision, the observational record played as prominent a part as the mental test. In addition, there were certain other criteria, such as the child's health, extra-curricular activities, scholastic attainments and general school record. The latter included a consideration of the child's school habits, such as attendance, punctuality, behavior, and so on. What was most important, as well as interesting, was the fact that when the mental test was given it was so constructed as to test not only *reactive* but also *spontaneous* intelligence. It sought to find out something about the kind of intelligence as well as its degree. Another thing to note is that the test was given by a teacher specially trained for such work by the municipal psychological institute. The test, moreover, was woven into the fabric of the ordinary school work so superbly that the children did not even know they were being tested. The actual procedure was somewhat as follows: Shortly before Easter, the children to be selected were transferred into trial classes where, while receiving their usual

instruction, they were also given several mental tests in an inconspicuous and unobtrusive way. "The children," Stern has reported, "do not notice at all that they are being tested; one test gives the impression of being a composition; another looks like a new kind of work in arithmetic." In the main, such conditions tend, of course, to spare the child emotionally as much as possible.

(3) *Criticisms.* The common objections to the Hamburg and similar methods are that they are too complicated; that they require too much time; that too much depends on an assumed co-operation among the various persons involved in the test; that the methods cannot be applied on a large scale in any large urban school system; and finally, that the simpler methods employed elsewhere arrive at conclusions that are just as reliable as those attained at Hamburg. To these powerful arguments Stern has replied in part as follows: "Selection is such a difficult and such a responsible undertaking that no available help may be refused. . . . . A decision is often made concerning the child's life and destiny. . . . . Therein lies a responsibility which cannot be left . . . . to any one single factor. . . . ." Whether the Hamburg procedure is accepted or thrust aside, this much, I believe, must be conceded: The scientific basis on which the method is grounded is of unquestionable soundness. Measured, moreover, by the ineffable yardstick of practice, the Stern method actually seemed to work. The youngsters selected have not only a superb intellect, but, temperamentally and otherwise, are capable of doing school work of a high order.

d. **Trends.** Not so long ago—in 1919 to be exact—Professor Whipple, after much study, regretfully announced that classes for the mentally superior were not be-

ing maintained in many places. While often reported as existing, such classes, on closer examination, usually turned out to be something quite different. Sometimes, indeed, they represented only the beauteous dream of a board of education somewhat more adept in depicting colorful fancy than in narrating plain and homely facts. Some of the conditions uncovered by Professor Whipple are of interest. He found, for example, that one city "had a room for dull, but never for bright children; one had a 'mixed' room for both dull and gifted; and two gave individual coaching for special promotions." Decadent already in 1919, such conditions, unfortunately, still can be found. It is needless to say that they are out of step with the modern attitude toward the gifted child and his educational needs.

On the whole, however, this state of affairs has changed. Evidence of this fact is contained in another report by Professor Whipple, this time the year of issue being 1924. Now the professor could write more enthusiastically, for "during the past ten years a variety of plans for handling gifted pupils have been instituted." The most common among such plans was that of special promotion or skipping. Usually based on the child's scholastic attainment rather than on his inherent mental ability, and determined ordinarily by the teacher's judgment, special promotion was the traditional way of helping the supernormal. Not infrequently, however, special promotion was used not so much to help the gifted child as simply to speed him along on his way to graduation in order to make room for other pupils in an overcrowded school. This tendency has been particularly common in some of our larger cities where the funds for new schools have not been able to match strides with the growing school population.

A far more suitable way to meet the many special needs of the gifted child is the formation of special classes, or as in some other lands, even entire schools. Membership of such special groups is usually determined in accordance with the principles already described. Notable is the fact that on the whole such classes for the gifted appear to be increasing.

e. **Educating the gifted in college.** Of interest is the fact that within the past few years the idea of special education for the gifted has invaded the collegiate ranks. In his introduction to a penetrating study of the problem, President Aydelotte, of Swarthmore, has pointed out, among other things, that "it may be seriously questioned whether even for the average student improvements could not be made in this system (the conventional one) but it can hardly be questioned that it is an extremely bad system for the best. . . . . A routine which keeps the average student busy simply wastes the time of the keenest. These latter can read through their textbooks the first two or three weeks of the semester and, if they are faithful attendants on their classes and other academic exercises, they can make a passable showing in their courses by doing no work at all the greater part of the college year. . . . ."

As a remedy for this quite common situation, various plans have been concocted. Roughly, these fall into two main classes: (1) The superior or honors student undertakes special work in addition to his regular program; (2) the gifted student assumes work which entirely supersedes the regular requirements. The proponents of the first plan are more numerous than those of the second. However, the adherents of the second method, while not so plentiful, are distinctive in that their plan is a serious effort to adjust the college curriculum to the ability and

interests of the student. Smith, Harvard, Swarthmore, Vassar, Colgate, Dartmouth, and other colleges have been experimenting with some variations of the second plan, which in essence is modeled after the English system of honors, wherein distinction is made between honors and pass men.

D. Individualizing Education

1. The Dalton Plan

a. Early history. Early in the century, when the ideas of Maria Montessori first attracted attention, one of those interested was a young woman, Helen Parkhurst. For a while, indeed, Miss Parkhurst helped to disseminate the Montessori Method in America. Subsequently, however, she began to concentrate on what finally was to emerge as the Dalton Plan. Like Montessori, though in different ways, Miss Parkhurst believes in allowing pupils opportunity for individual development. Accompanying this principle is the usual pedagogic handmaiden, which sets the learner into a properly prepared environment. Finally, Miss Parkhurst has accepted the idea that children should be encouraged to concentrate on their activities over longer periods of time.

Pondering over her plan as early as 1913, Miss Parkhurst continued to analyze and test its possibilities until 1920, when she was afforded a chance to put it into practice. This, as is generally known, was in the high school of Dalton, Mass. A typical American Middletown, Dalton had a mixed population ranging from the mill workers to the usual upper social strata. The Dalton school attracted less than two thousand pupils. Its offerings were formal, classical, conservative. Naturally they did not whet the learning appetite of the sons and daughters of

the Dalton mill workers. True, a number of these children started out as freshmen in the high school; but only a few ever lasted through to their commencement day.

This regrettable state of affairs was recognized by the Dalton principal. But to reform the situation was extremely difficult. Finally, after numerous skirmishes with the town's educational bigwigs, permission was finally given to try out a new plan. Later baptized in honor of the town, this scheme was substantially that of Miss Parkhurst.

b. **Underlying principles.** The Dalton Plan has been portrayed as "a piece of machinery for putting into operation the principle of individual work. . . . ." Says Miss Parkhurst: "It is a simple and economic reorganization of the schools whereby pupils and teachers function to better advantage. . . . . It does not add to or change the curriculum."

Three principles grace the Dalton Plan. The first of these is *freedom.* For the Dalton inventress, however, freedom does not mean that the pupil may do as he likes. Such a child, she contends, "is likely to be arbitrary and unwilling to co-operate."

Her second principle Miss Parkhurst has explained in the words of John Dewey: "The object of a democratic education is not merely to make an individual an intelligent participator in the life of his immediate group, but to bring the various groups into such constant interaction that no individual, no economic group could presume to live independently of others." This principle has been epitomized as that of *group interaction.*

Her third principle Miss Parkhurst has described as the "psychology of a point of view." "A child," she has explained, "never voluntarily undertakes anything that he does not understand," but he does launch "pursuits

which he can understand" and "in initiating his own pursuits he looks at a thing from all angles and he plans to carry out his objectives." This "psychology of a point of view" is the underlying motive force of the Daltonian stress on individual work.

c. The laboratory. By its full name, Miss Parkhurst's scheme is known as the Dalton Laboratory Plan. By it, the old-time classrooms have been converted into "sociological laboratories with children as the experimenters." In explanation, Miss Parkhurst has said that "chemicals are not the only things that can be put together. Properly furnished, a laboratory would enable a child (in literature for example) to have access to complete editions, be permitted to discover that Milton wrote more than one sonnet and to learn that authors differ in opinion on the same subject."

The laboratory, in brief, is an academic workshop, each room being garbed in its own particular atmosphere. In the West Green School at Tottenham, England, for example, you will find the geography laboratory adorned with maps, atlases, globes, and diagrams. In the same school, the history lab, besides possessing its own objective material, is given a distinctive tone by the historical frescoes bedecking its walls. Worked out by a quartet of ambitious school youngsters, these murals depict some of the more scintillating stars of the English historical show, including racy Henry VIII, set off, curiously enough, by a respectable Puritan. Every Dalton laboratory has its own books, and these, ever at the disposal of pupils and teachers, may be used at any time by anyone.

The laboratory is in charge of a teacher. Under the Dalton Plan a teacher teaches only one subject, and hence is sometimes known as a *subject specialist*. In their laboratories, the subject specialists do not teach—at least

not in the usual sense. The specialist's duty is, for one thing, "to preserve an atmosphere of study." Other things, of course, remain to be done. In the main these are concerned with helping the pupil who comes to work in the laboratory. Thus the teacher in charge is to give counsel and information regarding the use of laboratory equipment. He is expected to give suggestions regarding possible ways of attacking particular problems. The conventional situation, it seems, has been reversed, for under the Dalton scheme the pupil and not the teacher asks most of the questions.

Plainly, in the laboratory the rules for the traditional classroom cannot be applied. When the pupil begins his work in the morning, he may select any laboratory he desires. Once he has begun work in a laboratory, he is not thrust into the usual strait jacket of an artificial, superimposed classroom decorum. Quite the contrary. He may talk, move about at will, request and give help, and when he wishes he may stop work and go to another laboratory. In the original Dalton Plan about two hours of every morning absorbed such individual work.

d. **The conference and the contract.** Though the laboratory has been introduced, the recitation has not been completely discarded. Its usual form is the *conference,* by which provision is made for meeting fixed groups. At Dalton, conferences were held four times a week, though in some other schools using the Dalton Plan conferences may be held more or less frequently. As has been suggested, the conference, in essence, is not so different from a recitation. True to its name, however, the conference is more of a discussion than the old-style recitation. Its chief aim, I believe, is to throw light on common difficulties encountered by the pupils when they begin their individual assignments. At bottom, the con-

ference also is intended to furnish some social ballast to an education which tends to emphasize individualization.

Since Dalton has discarded the traditional recitation, it obviously cannot employ the conventional sort of home-work, though this is still preserved. Indeed, it is actually one of the Plan's important features. Its character, however, has been changed. Instead of preparing definite work for a definite class at a definite time, the Dalton pupil is given a mimeographed sheet with an assignment spreading over an entire month. This is known as a *contract*. It seeks to adjust the work to the individual's capacity.

To meet individual differences some schools using the Dalton Plan allow their pupils complete liberty in the working out of the monthly assignment. Accordingly, a student may distribute his time as he deems fit, concentrating on his weaker subjects and easing up on his stronger ones. So that a student may proceed fairly independently, every assignment is prefaced with specific directions. In doing his assignment a pupil may work in all his subjects at an even pace; or he may do it in a few sittings at a time. One student, for example, began his monthly assignment by focusing all his attention on history. During the first day he completed what on his assignment sheet was rated as four days' work in the subject. On the second and third days, however, there was slowing up of the pupil's progress. On the fourth and fifth days he switched his attention to mathematics. In two days he did two weeks' work—or half his whole monthly assignment. This pupil obviously must have been above par mentally, for he was able to finish his total contract in sixteen days. In some schools running on a modified Dalton basis a student thus completing his work ahead of schedule is given his next month's work.

e. Budgeting. In other schools, however, a student completing an assignment before it is due may do anything at all—except start the next month's assignment. If the Dalton Plan enables the pupil to distribute his time according to his need, then also it must help him to make a wise distribution.

"An uninstructed pupil," Miss Parkhurst has conceded,

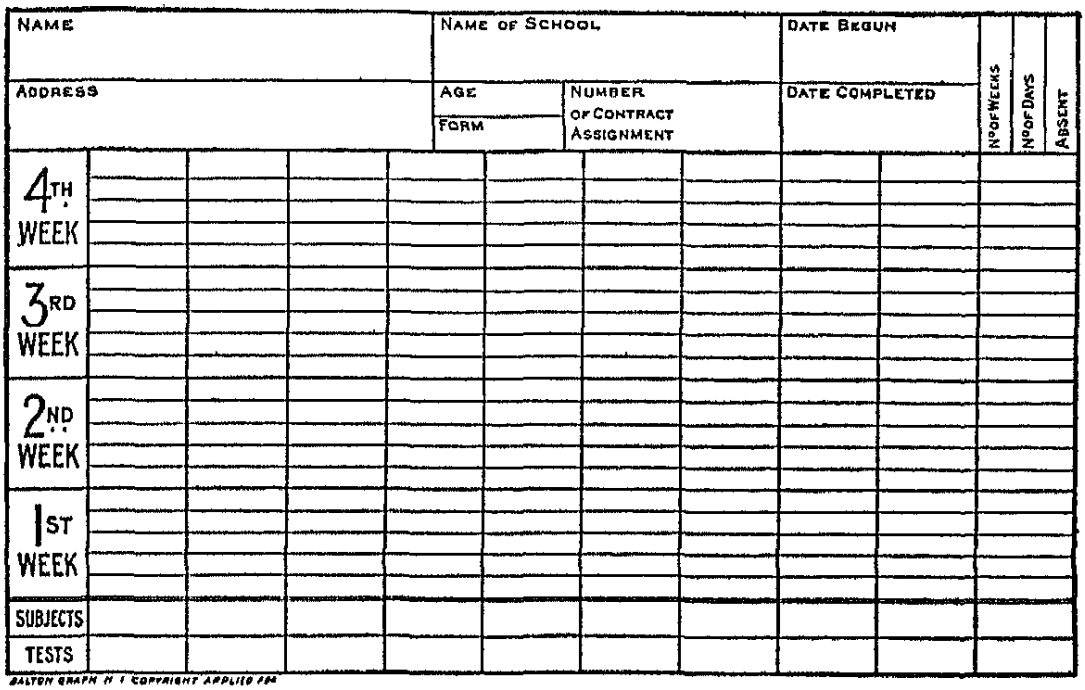
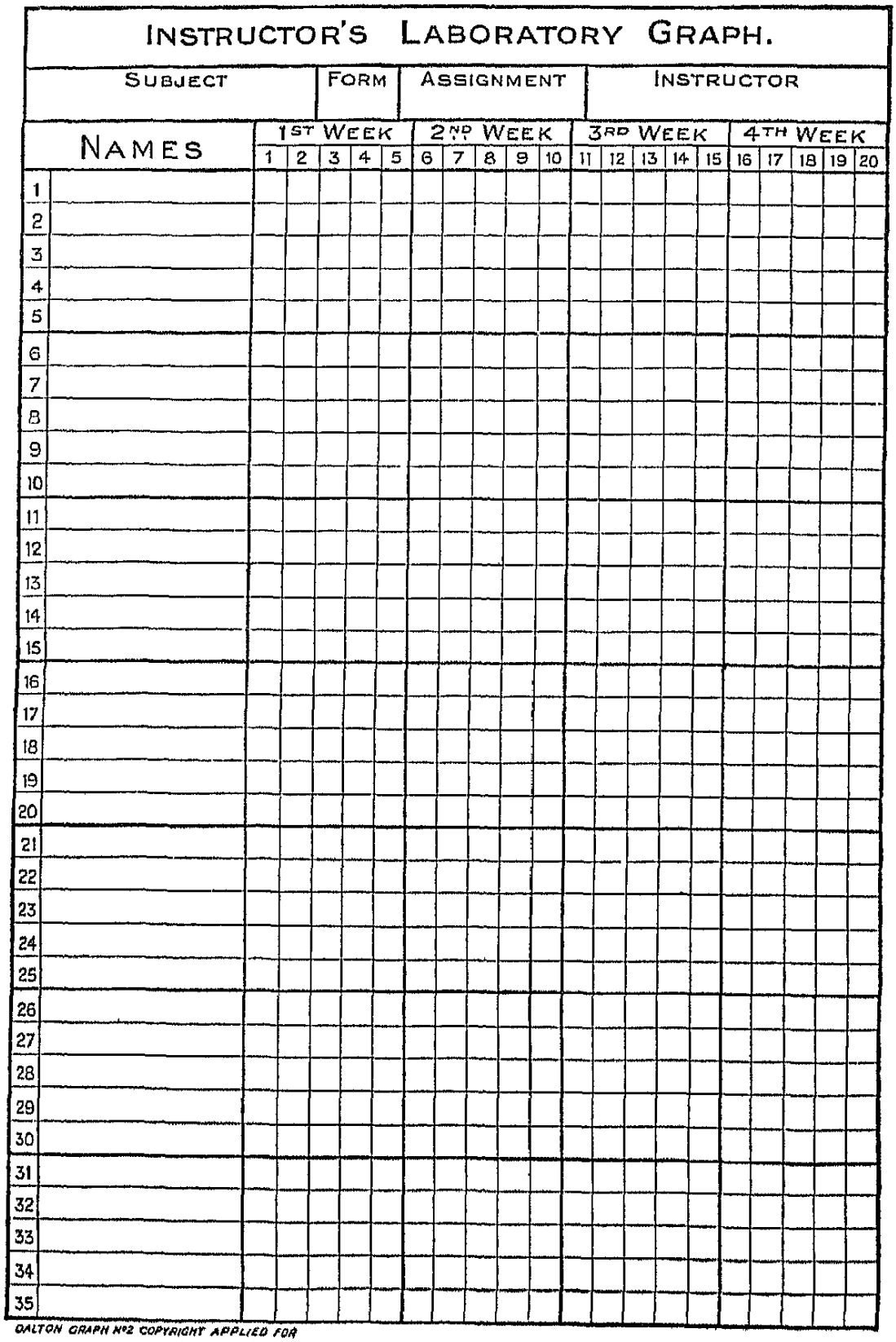


Fig. 1. Card used in the Dalton School, New York, N. Y., to chart the pupil's daily and weekly progress. ***(Courtesy of the Dalton School, New York City.)***

"cannot wisely organize and budget time. All of a single grade get together with an Organization Adviser, the same one, at the same time each morning." To their Adviser the "pupils report their progress, make their individual timetables for the day and study the problem of how to reconcile any shortages in their unit scores. . . ."

f. Checking. In a scheme where there are no daily recitations, the task of keeping tab on a pupil's progress assumes considerable importance. For this reason the Dalton Plan includes a system of checking, by which each pupil gets a card on which he "graphs his daily progress."



INSTRUCTOR'S LABORATORY GRAPH.

SUBJECT	FORM	ASSIGNMENT	INSTRUCTOR

NAMES	1ST WEEK					2ND WEEK					3RD WEEK					4TH WEEK				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
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GALTON GRAPH No2 COPYRIGHT APPLIED FOR

Fig. 2. Instructor's record of pupils' progress. *(Courtesy of the Dalton School, New York City.)*

The teacher, too, has a card on which he graphs the progress of his individual pupils.

g. **Group activities.** The Dalton Plan, as has been said, is trying to meet the learning speed of the individual. But this is obviously only one phase of the child's all-round education. Accordingly, the original Dalton scheme called for fairly liberal group activities in addition to the regular Dalton program. English, for example, was to be enriched by literary meetings, debates, public speeches, and histrionics, in all of which the pupils were to assume a large share. In history there were to be discussions of present-day politics, the customs and manners of another era, and so on. For uncontrollable reasons, however, the Dalton originators had to scrap their socialization scheme. But among the hosts of Dalton followers, many have set aside afternoons for the so-called group projects, which include all the activities mentioned and also such diversions as games, gymnastics, and other doings which are to stimulate the child's social nature.

h. **The Plan abroad.** Curiously enough, the Dalton Plan has attracted more followers in foreign lands than in its native United States. Miss Parkhurst herself has helped to install it in England, Japan, and China. In various forms, it is found in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, and Russia. Late in 1929 Dr. Lucy Wilson, of Philadelphia, was invited by Peru to introduce the Plan in that country. The rise of Dalton in England is due, in part at least, to the efforts of Miss Rosa Bassett, who for a time studied the new scheme in its original Dalton habitat. Later, Miss Bassett's Streatham Hill School, run on exemplary lines, became one of the leading exponents of the new plan. Today, England has some two thousand Daltonized schools. In addition, it has an active and potent Dalton Association which is laboring hard in the interests of the scheme.

i. Criticism. Among the most challenging criticisms directed at the Dalton Plan are those which attack the "unsocial nature" of the Plan. Thus, Dr. Cox has held that the Dalton Plan does not make the grade because of its "failure to provide socialized behavior outcomes for those boys and girls whose important contributions must be behavioristic rather than purely intellectual.

"The Dalton Plan," he says further, "is highly inadequate for social education. Unless it is subordinated to the truer objects of education any plan that seeks chiefly the individual mastery of subject matter must result in the failure of the school to accomplish the purposes for which the community supports it." Somewhat along the same tack are the criticisms of the celebrated Communist educator, Pinkevitch, who pleads thus:

> In spite of the insistent statements of Miss Parkhurst regarding its significance for social education, we cannot but express the fear that it (the Dalton Plan) will be instrumental in developing individualistic tendencies in children. Under the Dalton scheme every pupil is busy with his own assignment and with the completion of his own work. Since each is absorbed in a different matter, what one's neighbors are doing is unfamiliar and foreign. In laboratory recitations . . . . there is always some work in common. In the studios of Miss Parkhurst there is almost no collective work of any kind.[1]

Both of these criticisms, however, hold only when applied to the original Dalton Plan, which, through no fault of its inventress, was constrained to omit much of its group work and activities. But in the many up-to-date Dalton schools now flourishing throughout the world, a goodly number, to say the least, is engaged every day in offering the student a balanced educational diet of socialized and individualized dishes.

Still another critical fling is made at the Dalton Plan by Dr. V. T. Thayer, thus:

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[1] Pinkevitch, A., *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, p. 285.

The first conspicuous limitation in the operation of individual instruction is its meager provision for individual differences. The individual differences provided for are those of rate of learning. All pupils cover the same ground, and in the same way, irrespective of differences in ability, taste, interest and background. . . . . Progress is not adjusted to specific needs of growth and development. . . . . Each may race along as rapidly as he will. And, considering the unwise pressure that comes from parents and friends for them to speed up and thus 'save time' . . . the scheme of permitting children to progress as rapidly as they can entails positive dangers.[2]

Another criticism of the Dalton Plan emanates from the ranks of the practical teacher. What has especially upset him is the natural inclination on the part of children to put off their assignments as long as possible. To meet this objection some schools have shrunk the assignment to a weekly basis. Under this plan the teacher's work tends at least to become more evenly distributed. The papers which the pupils hand in appear with greater regularity. Under the monthly assignment idea this production rhythm is absent. "During the early part of the month," says Stearns and Washburne, "the teacher would have no correcting of papers while toward the end of the month she would be swamped."

THE DALTON CONTRACT

(As used by the Dalton School, New York City)

Senior—Senior High School
Page 1

6th Contract Assignment
1931
C. v H Bogoslovsky

HISTORY

(AMERICAN)

We are now at the *turn of the Century*. The glamor and success of a foreign war had brought "dominion over palm and pine". The

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[2] Thayer, V. T., *The Passing of the Recitation*, p. 207.

United States assumed "the white man's burden" and "entered on untried paths".

We shall, in this assignment, see how the United States proceeded. We shall also see how our foreign, as well as our domestic policy, is conditioned by a fabulous growth of industrialism and industrial combinations, which create what John Hay called, "the insolent prosperity of the United States". At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the United States had reached such a position that Theodore Roosevelt could truly say, "We have not the choice as to whether or not this country will play a great part in the world. All we can decide is whether we will play it well or ill."

Section One

Subject: **The Roosevelt Era.**

Problem 1: Find out about the man of whom John Morley said: "The two things in America which seem to me most extraordinary are Niagara Falls and Theodore Roosevelt."

Problem 2: With what justification could Roosevelt say: "I did not usurp power, but I did greatly broaden the use of executive power."

Cite examples.

How did his conception of the Presidency compare with Jackson's, Cleveland's and Harrison's?

Problem 3: Study in some detail the chief events during Roosevelt's Presidency:

Why was he accused of being a socialist? Was Roosevelt responsible for the revolution in Panama? Discuss the background leading to the construction of the Panama Canal. Why was an Isthmian Canal more important for us in 1900 than in 1850? What conditions are reflected in the "Panama Canal Song"?

> "Got any rivers you think are uncrossable?
> Got any mountains you can't tunnel through?
> We specialize in the wholly impossible,
> Doing what other folks think they can't do!"

What is meant by the Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine?
What has been referred to as Roosevelt's greatest service?
Contrast the Japanese immigration of the early Twentieth Century with the Chinese of a generation earlier.
What was the gentleman's agreement of 1907?
What do you think are the outstanding aspects of Roosevelt's foreign policy?

Reference: "Our Own Times", pages 535–560 or Elson. "A History of the United States", pp 910–918; Law: "Modern Great Americans"; Morgan: "Our Presidents", Roosevelt: "An Autobiography".

Equivalents: Problem 2____1 unit Problem 1____1½ units. Problem 3____2½ units.

SECTION TWO

Subject: **The Progressive Movement.**

Problem 1: What proofs can you find that the Republicans were not so strong in the election of 1908 as in that of 1904?

Problem 2: Discuss the Progressive Movement. Was the American government in "the critical decade", "government of the people, by the people and for the people" or was it a government "of the people, by the bosses for the interests"?

Problem 3: What does Muzzey mean by "the critical decade"?

Problem 4: Read about President Taft and the Insurgents. What is of importance in Taft's administration?

Was Taft fairly nominated in 1912?

Discuss the Republican split and the return of the Democrats and the campaign of 1912.

Problem 5: Find out about the winning candidate in the 1912 election.

References: Readings—Muzzey, 560–596 or Elson, 918–924

Equivalents: Prob. 1, 5____each ½ unit. Prob. 3, 4____1 unit each. Prob. 2____2 units.

Senior—Senior High School 6th Contract Assignment
Page 2 1931

HISTORY

(AMERICAN)

SECTION THREE

Subject: **Woodrow Wilson and the New Freedom.**

Problem 1: Why was Wilson in a difficult position when he entered the Presidency?

What changes were made in his cabinet during the first three years? Why?

Problem 2: Wilson said in his Inaugural Address, "This is not a day of triumph—it is a day of dedication." Dedication to what?

What was his program of reform as announced in his first Inaugural Address and how was it carried out?

Problem 3: How would you defend Wilson's Mexican Policy? Trace our relations with Mexico from 1917 to 1927.

Problem 4: What is referred to as "Our Interests in the Caribbean"?

What is meant by "Yankee Imperialism"?

Compare the Monroe Doctrine and the Doctrine of Pan-Americanism

What is the feeling of the Latin-Americans towards the United States of America?

Problem 5: What did Wilson's administration do for women?

Trace the history of the amendment, passed in Wilson's Administration, which is still causing violent agitation.

References: Muzzey: Readings, pp. 596–616; Elson, 925–950; Annim: Wilson—A Character Study; Law: Modern Great Americans; Morgan: Our Presidents.

Equivalents: Problem 1____½ unit. Problem 2____1½ units. Problems 3, 4, 5____each 1 unit.

Section Four

Subject: **The United States in the World War.**

Problem 1: Wilson said in his first annual message to Congress, "Many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community among nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good work".

Contrast this with the actual situation which followed the course of events leading up to the World War.

Problem 2: Discuss the American struggle for neutrality and how this neutrality was violated.

Why was Wilson re-elected? What slogan dominated the election of 1916? When and why was war declared with Germany?

Problem 3: What were America's domestic war problems and what was the effect of the War upon the government?

Discuss the war services of some outstanding Americans.

Problem 4: What was the work of the American military forces?

What do you think of the ideas expressed in Wilson's "Flag Day Address"?

Why was it desirable for America to state her war aims?

Had any of the European powers yet done a similar thing? Why or why not?

What are Wilson's "Fourteen Points"?

Problem 5: Do Map Exercise XIV: The United States and the World War.
References. Muzzey: 635–653; Elson 90–970.
(Optional) Muzzey Readings—577–586.
Equivalents: Each Problem____1 unit.

2. The Winnetka Plan

Somewhat akin to the Dalton Plan is that of Winnetka, sponsored by Dr. Carleton Washburne. Like Miss Parkhurst, Washburne opposed the old-style recitation, substituting for it a system of individual instruction. Launched in 1919, the Winnetka experiment applied an Individual Technique, revealing at the same time, however, the fact that group activities need not be sacrificed for the sake of individual progress.

a. Spelling. Winnetka's campaign for individual instruction began with spelling. An examination of every child at the beginning of the term in the words he was to learn during the term, revealed that the average child already could spell about two-thirds of these words. In fact, even the poorest spellers knew all but a dozen or so of the words on the entire list. Under the old procedure all the children would have had an identical spelling lesson every day. But at Winnetka, the child's work in spelling was adjusted to his needs. To begin with, the teacher checked in each child's spelling book those words he had missed, and these he was expected to master before the end of the term. He was free, moreover, to study them as he pleased. The result was rather revealing. A few youngsters actually completed their entire term's spelling in a single day. Even the slowest student did not have to study as many words under this scheme as under the traditional plan.

b. Reading. The next attack was made on reading. Ability in this domain, as most people realize, varies con-

siderably. The average fifth-grade child probably will have a fifth-grade reading ability; but in the same grade, very likely, will be children with third- and fourth-grade reading ability. At the same time, you are likely to find in the same class youngsters whose reading ability is sixth-, seventh-, eighth-grade, and sometimes even higher.

Once more the children were tested at the beginning of the year, and after each child's reading ability had been determined, books were bought for each individual. The class recitation was discarded, pupils reading to the teacher one at a time while their classmates studied. And this was a benefit for all. For the slow retarded reader, it meant that he was reading something he could understand at a pace which was not beyond him. The same thing applied to the average and the better readers.

From spelling and reading, Winnetka proceeded to arithmetic, language, history, and geography. Individualizing these subjects was by no means simple, since the class size could not be curtailed, while at the same time the teacher's work was not to be increased.

c. Tasks and goals. Under the Dalton Plan, in its original form, it will be recalled that a pupil could not go on in any subject until he had completed his whole monthly assignment. At Winnetka, however, no such academic stoplights blocked the way. One bright pupil was "one year and one month advanced in reading, one year and six months ahead in arithmetic, two years and two months ahead in language." At Winnetka, studies are divided into *tasks* or *goals*. Each goal is planned by the teachers and every pupil is equipped with simple directions enabling him to proceed by himself. When a goal or, in some cases, part of it is reached, the pupil undergoes a self-administered test by which he knows

whether he has actually mastered his task and whether he is ready to face a test given by his teacher.

d. **There is no failure.** Since the pupil may not advance to his next task unless he achieves an acceptable standard, there is in a sense no such thing as failure. "No child ever 'fails.' Nor does he ever 'skip a grade.' If in June a child has not finished his grade work, in September he goes on from where he left off. If a child can do more than a grade's work in a year, he does so—but he does all the work, without skipping any. . . . ."

e. **Group activities.** In the Winnetka schools, half the morning and half the afternoon sessions are devoted to individual work. The remaining half is put down for social activities. Here one encounters a lavish assortment: open forums, plays, self-government meetings, school journals, excursions, shopwork, music, art, and so on. It is during these activities that the magic of socialization weaves its spell. "It is during this freer part of the day that the children learn how to fit their interests and abilities in with those of others, to co-operate, to participate in the activities of the group."

E. The Platoon School Movement

1. Background

Early in 1906 Gary, Indiana, was mainly a mess of sand and swamp. Before the end of the year, however, destiny touched this region and made it the habitat of the United States Steel Corporation. With the advent of the steel mills the erstwhile desert was transformed into a vast citadel of industry. A mecca for the statistician, Gary, even after a mere three years of steel occupation, began to sprout some amazing figures. The steel mills, for example, covered a square mile and could accommodate, when

completely manned, some 140,000 employees. The town's population had mounted to 12,000. Its residences were worth about $2,000,000. There were 25 miles of cement sidewalks. Gary in 1909 possessed two banks, two schools, six hotels, and ten churches.

As the town thus blossomed into eminence its ambitious citizenry quite naturally began to yearn for adequate schools. Always complicated, the task of establishing more and better schools depends, as everybody knows, upon the amount of money available through taxes. At Gary, however, such money was pathetically scarce. A large number of Gary's populace were foreigners who owned no taxable domains. The plant of the Steel Corporation, true enough, was worth a formidable shilling but it was perpetually underassessed. Still another obstacle, curiously enough, lurked in the pages of the Indiana law books, where it was stated that the school revenue for any given year was to be based on assessments made some two years before. Due to this legislation, Gary, whose populace had been regularly doubling every year since the steel invasion, was obliged to base its current school revenue in 1909 on assessment values made when the town was only one-fourth as large.

2. William Wirt

In 1908 William Wirt, then active at Bluffton, Indiana, was made superintendent at Gary. In his Bluffton bailiwick, Wirt had been fashioning his pedagogical ideas for eight long years, putting them into practice in a limited way. These ideas were now to be tried out on a much more ambitious scale in rising Gary.

Like scores of other school men, Wirt held that the school should educate not only intellectually, but also physically, manually, scientifically, and artistically. Op-

portunities for such varied development should be available to every child. To achieve its all-round purpose, the school must be equipped with playgrounds, gardens, swimming pools, science laboratories, machine shops, music and drawing studios, and so on. But even such an institution, Wirt believed, would not of itself be puissant enough to pluck that elusive all-round development for the child unless his school activities were bolstered with activities outside the school.

Equipped to bring about a *varied education,* the ideal Wirtian school included as its main items: (1) play and exercise, (2) special work in shop or laboratory, (3) social and creative doings in the school auditorium as well as out in the community, and (4) the standard academic subject matter. Work and play were deemed an indispensable part of education. They were not "mere trimmings of the regular work," participated in once or twice a week. In the Wirtian scheme of things this balanced program of study and play *is* the "regular work"

In one of his first statements at Gary, written in 1908, Wirt said that "the main business of the school is to utilize to the best advantage the time that the child spends in school," and added that "the greatest problem of the school is to counteract and overcome the demoralizing influences of the child's life in the streets and alleys and unfortunately in many homes, so called." [3] In a subsequent pronouncement, the Gary superintendent said:

> The school with five hours a day one hundred and eighty days during the year does not provide activity for more than two and one-half hours a day on the average for the 365 days of the year, and without doubt the worst place in the world is the modern massive, stone and brick building with every device perfected for keep-

[3] Report on the Gary school, 1908.

ing children rigid and quiet in fixed school seats . . . . We must provide activities so that children can be kept busy doing the things which are good for them to do or they will do the things that are bad for them to do.[4]

Five hours of a child's average daily routine, it appeared to Mr. Wirt, were passed fatuously, and often, even dangerously, in the Gary streets and alleys.

The time in the streets and alleys and amusement halls must be eliminated from the life of the city child before cities can be fit places for the rearing of children. Cities must have an institution that will provide constructive activities at work and play as a substitute for the present five hours a day of destructive activities. Those wholesome activities for work and play should be provided in connection with the child's study school where he may spend six, seven, or eight hours a day in study, work and play Not only will the wholesome work and play be a substitute for the demoralizing activities of the street and alley, but, planned in connection with the study school, will motivate and give new vitality to the child's study hours.[5]

But as might be expected, several obstacles lurked in the way of the establishment of such an institution. There were, for one thing, the usual old hard-pated reactionaries for whom the old was unchallengeable. Then, too, there were Gary's numerous aliens. Ignorant of the American way, they misunderstood Wirt's ideals. Much more serious, however, was the matter of finance. To set up such an institution as that envisaged by Wirt, with its program of work, study and play, demanded considerable money.

"We try," said he, "to provide a school seat in a classroom for the exclusive use of each child. Then we try to have an auditorium large enough to seat all the children, which is the same thing as providing an auditorium seat for each child's exclusive use. All children play at

[4] Wirt, W., "Creating a Child World," *The Platoon School*, p. 4, 1927.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

one time, which is the same thing as providing a playground for each child." The same waste, moreover, runs right through the whole school. But in the activities of the adult, the picture is quite different, as witness:

> What would we think of the management of a street car company that insisted upon everybody riding to the same point and in the same direction at one time? . . . . The management of all types of public service, excepting schools, attempts to balance the load of their respective facilities as much as possible. Without the application of multiple use and balanced load principles the people in the cities cannot do for themselves collectively through public service agencies any more than they can do as private individuals.[6]

3. Multiple use and balanced load

To wipe out all the waste, the simple thing to do, Wirt argued, was to apply the principles of "multiple use and balanced load" to education. Specifically, this meant discarding the idea of providing a school seat for the exclusive use of each child. Load distribution now became the maxim. Thus each morning half the student populace was to be seated in the classrooms; one-fourth was to be found in special studios and workshops for manual training, music, art, science, geography, and history; an eighth of the student corps would occupy the auditorium; and the remaining pupils would be on the playgrounds and in the gymnasiums. Two or three hours a day was the limit of the time to be bestowed on the tool subjects. The rest of the day was to be devoted to getting firsthand experiences which were to bring on the child's all-round development. The classroom was to be used alternately by two groups—since neither required such a room more than two or three hours daily. Later named *platoons,* these groups were

[6] Unpublished report of the *School Building Survey,* Portland, Oregon, 1923.

to alternate between the classroom and the other activities already mentioned. Thus while Platoon A might be turning handsprings on the playground or garnering social experiences out among the citizens of Gary, Platoon B would be bent over its studies in the classrooms. Soon, however, the two platoons exchanged places. Now A went to the classrooms and B slipped to the other activities.

Economically the application of the multiple use and balanced load principles proved a triumph. Not only were costs materially reduced, but what is much more significant, an efficient and illuminated brand of education was launched. Since under Wirt's plan the number of required classrooms is cut in half there obviously should be a corresponding saving in money. This surplus, however, the Gary school men did not horde in the municipal vaults. The savings they accumulated by means of the platoon system were used to purchase such additional facilities as playgrounds, gardens, gymnasiums, workshops, swimming pools, and so on.

4. Balanced load on a large scale

Wirt's aim, as has been said, was to wring the maximum use out of a given school building. This brought with it not only the platoon scheme but many other novel and interesting items. The school day, for instance, was lengthened, beginning in the higher grades at 8:30 A.M. and continuing till five with an hour out for lunch. Under this scheme, teachers were expected to begin their day at eight in the morning. The regular classroom teachers were allowed to go home at four, but all others had to stay another hour. The motive behind this lengthened school day was not only to promote economy and efficiency, but also, more idealistically, "to utilize the pupils'

leisure time for wholesome recreation or supplementary work." It was, in other words, an assault on what Superintendent Wirt called the youngster's "street and alley time." Of the Gary school day, only a small segment, as has been said, was actually reserved for the formal tool subjects. The larger part of the child's time was given over to training "in the definite control of his leisure for his well-being." And here, of course, is where the playgrounds were enlisted to do their share in educating the Gary children.

Not only was the regular school day lengthened, but evenings and Saturdays were put into the educational harness. This was optional, yet some three-fourths of the pupils registered for Saturday work. Dedicated to "continuation school and social and recreational activities," evening work at Gary ran from seven to 9:30 four times a week. Today an ancient tale, particularly in the cities, the idea of such evening activity was at the outset held as somewhat of a daring novelty. So, too, must have been the curriculum. Part of this, as might be expected, was heavy and intellectual, and was mainly for those who could profit by it. To a goodly number of its evening students Gary proffered lighter work, such as "instruction in the gymnasium, swimming pool, football, basket ball, etc." Here, too, the glitter of innovation has been dulled, for today these have become commonplace in most up-to-date towns.

If the maximum use is to be had from a building, bolting its doors in the summertime becomes palpably absurd. The doors, pleaded Mr. Wirt, should be wide open at all times. Adopted today in many places, such a twelve-month school is known as the *all-year school.*

"Many children," Mr. Wirt stated, "are unavoidably absent during the school term under the old form of or-

ganization. Under the four-quarter (all-year) arrangement, the allotted vacation of such children can be so arranged as to include such absence, thus insuring 36 weeks of schooling." Older children, moreover, were able to take their twelve-week vacation in any quarter of the year during which they could get the most profitable employment.

> By permitting pupils to drop out of school at the beginning of any quarter of the year for their vacation, the classes would have to be twelve weeks apart This would facilitate the easy transfer of pupils from one class to another, thus breaking up the lock-step and arriving at a wise compromise between individual and class instruction.[7]

The whole matter here, at first blush, was in harmony with Wirt's basic principles. As a matter of fact, when the all-year school was first organized at Bluffton, attendance in the primary grades, curiously enough, was greater during the summer days than during any other quarter.

5. The complete school

Besides using its schools to the last jot and tittle, Gary was seeking to give an up-to-date and progressive sort of education. Its school has been described as "a playground, garden, workshop, social center, library and traditional school under the same management." It is the so-called *complete school* where under one and the same roof are found children of all ages—from the kindergarten to the high school senior. The aim of such a complete school is again partly economic, for obviously it should be a good deal easier on the public purse to erect one large and completely outfitted school ready for all children of all ages, than to duplicate such equip-

[7] Wirt, W., "A School Year of Twelve Months," *Education*, 1907.

ment in swarms of smaller schools. But the motive behind the idea is also pedagogic, for "it enables the school to bridge the chasm between the elementary and the high school." [8] Specifically, this means that the old and familiar cleavage between the higher and lower schools has been disrupted. Under the Gary scheme the student is not supposed to look upon eight years of elementary schooling as leading to a terminus from which he goes either to the job or to the high school. Not all the Gary schools, however, were organized as complete schools. Those schools that have been established, however, take care of the vast majority of the Gary youth. Interesting to note is the high percentage of elementary school graduates entering the high school. The figure has been put at over 90 per cent. Indeed, in one year it was actually 97 per cent—and this long before a high school education became the national fashion. Practically, by its pianissimo and subtle procedure, the complete school is to lead the youngster to a high school education. But this the Gary Pestalozzis would make much broader and picturesque than the traditional types of learning found in the conventional secondary schools.

6. School and society

Like most other American centers of learning the Gary schools have been influenced by the thinking of Dr. Dewey. Thus at Gary one finds a special stress on socialization. All along the line one encounters children doing "the things that have meaning to them as children." This puts a premium on the project method.

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[8] The author of this, I take it, is W. P. Burris, who used these words in his *The Public School System of Gary, Ind*, published in 1914 in Bulletin No. 18, U. S. Bureau of Education Precisely the same words, however—though without benefit of quotation marks—grace R S. Bourne's excellent treatise on *The Gary Schools*, p. 17, published in 1916.

And in many of these projects the community plays a weighty part. Is the purity of Gary's water supply in doubt? Then put it under the microscope in the school's biological laboratory. Are the local ice cream makers stuffing their product with gelatine and glucose? Then let the student chemists take it asunder and publish results. Education at Gary, true to the Dewey pronouncement, is indeed life itself.

Since education in the home of U. S. Steel tends to be socialized and practical, as might be expected, special stress is put on vocational training. However, instead of hiring the usual special teachers of cabinet-making, printing, plumbing, and so on, Gary hires skilled professionals. Expected to keep the school plant in repair and in first-rate condition, these workingmen are also asked to assume the teacher's robes. When thus active they teach their craft to the Gary students, who, like the apprentices of another day, learn their jobs by working with their masters. Naturally enough, the congeries of trades thus represented is large. Besides cabinet-makers, printers, and plumbers, there are carpenters, painters, sheet-metal workers, electricians, foundrymen, machinists, and many others. In the shops of these craftsmen the student is put to work. Here he makes and repairs school furniture, and becomes familiar with his Alma Mater's clocks, bells, lights, and motors. Here he learns the secrets of paints, their mixture and application. And here, too, he becomes privy to the mechanical aspects of doors, hinges, bolts, and hordes of other familiar accessories. The same procedure is encountered in domestic art and science. Here the students help to prepare actual meals, subsequently serving them in an actual lunchroom to actual customers who are chiefly fellow students and teachers. Financially the

system is successful. Combining artisan and schoolmaster in one person obviates the hiring of a special vocational teacher.

Most efficient in the platoon school's socializing program is the auditorium. Today a commonplace aspect of the twentieth-century American school, the auditorium at Gary, however, is still run on original lines. Frankly a socializing milieu, the Gary auditorium is devoted to such group activities as choral singing, dramatics, movies, concerts, debates, orations, and the like. The auditorium stage is large—large enough in some instances to accommodate a basketball game or a folk dance. Every day the Gary youngster spends at least an hour in the auditorium. "The influence of this hour," says Bourne, "can hardly be marked for it motivates all the studies."

7. The development of the work-study-play idea

Since its inception at Gary the work-study-play program has appeared in several forms in numerous cities. As early as 1915, in the guise of the platoon school, it came to Kalamazoo, Michigan. Three years later Detroit adopted it. Even the universities have become interested in the idea. In 1928 Ohio State, recognizing "the demand for trained platoon principals, supervisors, and teachers," gave special summer courses to meet the rising need. Lending added potency to the Gary idea and its many modifications is the National Association for the Study of the Platoon or Work-Study-Play Organization. With headquarters in the national capital, this society sponsored the quarterly *Platoon School.*

F. Adult Education

1. Meaning and scope

No doubt it must have been a cynic who suggested that if three educators got together and discussed adult education each would have something else in mind. As good a view on the subject, however, and more authoritative than many, is the following by a member of the People's Institute, a noted New York school for adults:

> It is sought to make of adult education something which will broaden the interests and sympathies of people regardless of their daily occupations along with it, to lift men's thoughts out of the monotony and drudgery which are the common lot, to free the mind from servitude and herd opinion; to train habits of judgment and of appreciation of value, to carry on the struggle for human excellence in our day and generation, to temper passion with wisdom; to dispel prejudice by better knowledge of self; to enlist all men, in the measure they have capacity for it, in the achievement of civilization.

The following is from the *Encyclopedia Britannica:*

> *Adult Education:* An educational movement for men and women, young and old, who no longer are in contact with formalized education, whose primary interest lies in a vocation, but who possess a secondary interest in their own educational improvement as a sustained and continuous process. It seeks to impress upon the public consciousness the basic idea of mind expansion as an important part of the necessary business of a complete life. . . . . It interprets graduation from any sort of schooling as a veritable commencement of educational opportunity extending throughout life.

While these words leave unrevealed the vastness and variety of the territory covered by adult education, they at least contain a few of its more prominent hallmarks. Adult education, thus, is usually deemed a purely voluntary undertaking engaged in by persons old enough to be beyond the period of compulsory schooling. Unlike

most college and university students, these volunteer learners concentrate their main efforts not on study but on earning their daily living. The efforts of such adult students, however, must be more than merely casual or haphazard; they must "be planned and have continuity."

2. Studies in adult learning

Time was when it was generally held that the ability to learn was more or less a monopoly of youth. People of middle age and beyond, it was assumed, were at best slow in acquiring new knowledges and skills. In a way, this notion was a sweet and reassuring morsel for those adults who preferred the serenity of indolence to the quest for knowledge. But this refuge is on its way out. After considerable experimentation on the subject, Dr. Thorndike, of Columbia University, was convinced in 1929 that "the zenith of power for acquiring information, ideas and the more subtle skills" arrives in one's early twenties. The decade from twenty to thirty is held superior to any other, while the decade from thirty to forty, curiously enough, is now held to be on a par with that of ten to twenty. In the words of Dr. Thorndike:

> Even at forty-five a man can hold his own with his son at the presumably versatile and receptive age of fifteen. If middle age can equal youth at youth's own intellectual specialty, adulthood may continue doggedly to claim superiority in its field of alleged supremacy—general and practical judgment.

3. Types of adult education

Adult education in the United States is divided into two main kinds—formal and informal; and these, as usual, are split and sub-split into other varieties. The informal type of adult learning is more or less indirect.

At the same time its service is important, and without it the work of the more formal variety would be hampered. Under the informal banner march such cultural agencies as the public libraries, museums, lyceums, forums, drama leagues, women's clubs, the pulpit, the press, the movies, and the radio. Some of these agencies dispense offerings of systematic study, but on the whole the education they give belongs to the unorganized variety. Notable, particularly in recent years, are the movies and the radio. Up to the present, however, they have been much more engrossed in profits than in educational programs. A distinguished place must be reserved in this informal group for the United States Department of Agriculture. This, under the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, dispatches to the rural areas every year between five and six thousand county, home, and agricultural agents whose chief duty is to dispense to millions of rural dwellers the latest findings in scientific farming, housekeeping, psychology, etc.

The more organized or formal type constitutes the important division of adult education. Gracing its ranks are the correspondence schools, which annually cast their blessings on millions of people. Then there are the university extension courses, whose enrollments have increased considerably in recent years. In addition there are the public evening schools and extension classes of non-collegiate rank besides those conducted by Rotary, Kiwanis, the Knights of Columbus, the various Y's, and workers' groups. In New York City alone there are some two thousand schools catering to adults.

a. The institute. As a spoke in the educational wheel, the institute generally concentrates on the lecture, and though the audience is composed of more or less mature minds, questions and discussions are not

ordinarily stressed. One of the first institutes, the Lowell Institute, was founded in 1839 in Boston. In its prime, Lowell attracted such men as Agassiz, John Fiske, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Charles Eliot. Besides its regular lectures, Lowell—assisted by other agencies of learning—conducts a number of technical and professional courses. During the course of a season some thousands of persons gather at Lowell to listen to lectures on such varied topics as "The Weather in Peace and War," "The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," "Intelligence Tests and Their Significance for School and Society," "History of the Recent Fauna of Siberia and Central Asia," and so on.

One of the most notable institutes is the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Founded in 1823, the Brooklyn establishment, more than a century later, boasted of a general endowment of $2,000,000. Of this, the educational department, which sponsors most of the lectures, receives about half a million. In addition there are special grants, such as, for example, one for $10,000 for chamber music. The biggest part of the income, however, comes from the members themselves, of whom there are several thousand. Unlike the rank and file of institutes, Brooklyn concerns itself with many things. It is interested, for example, in the Brooklyn Botanical Garden, the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences, and the Children's Museum. For teachers, it offers courses in education. Its lectures, free to all members, have drawn some of the nation's leading literati, such as Carl van Doren, John Cowper Powys, Dhan Gopal Mukerji, and many others. In the domain of music the Brooklyn Institute has for a long time held top rank, offering concerts by Kreisler, Rachmaninoff, the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, and many other eminent artists.

b. Schools for adults. One of the most popular forms of adult education flourishes not in institutes, however, but in regular and full-fledged schools which in most cases have been especially organized for the job of teaching grownups. Of relatively recent birth, such institutions are still modest in number, and nearly all of them are private. The oldest is the famous People's Institute, which was established in 1897 in New York. During its first score of years it did the work of a combined lyceum and forum, in addition to some social work. In recent years, however, this old policy has been cast aside, and under the leadership of Everett Dean Martin the school has restricted its doings to adult education. Unlike some of the more prosperous institutes, the People's Institute is not blessed with a superabundance of money. Most of its work, as a matter of fact, has been carried out in the face of economic handicaps. The People's Institute has staged lectures by eminent headliners in their respective fields, such as the Drs. Goldenweiser, McCracken, Jastrow, Angell, Koehler, and others. But the Institute's most significant work is not these special talks but its regular courses. It is here also that for many years the Institute's director has been active. Ranging from *Democracy in the Light of Psychology* to *Nietzsche and the Spirit of Today*, from the *New Liberalism* to *Psychology*, Martin's courses constitute a formidable magnet. The reading required of Martin's students is as amazing as it is solid, a matriculant for a course in *The Meaning of a Liberal Education* being expected to read among other things: Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Huxley's *Science and Education*, Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, Spencer's *Education*, Mill's *On Liberty*, Dewey's *Democracy and Education*, plus several other well-known masterpieces.

From the Institute's lecture work there has emerged a School of the Institute whose main reason for being is to meet the needs of small groups in specialized subjects. Such specialized work naturally presumes some previous training, though even here the People's Institute has set up no entrance requirements. The work of the School, like that of the Institute, is manned by well-known experts, most of whom are university professors. Thus in 1925, logic was taught by Professor Spaulding, of Princeton. At the same time Professor Koehler, the *Gestalter,* lectured on psychology while John Langdon-Davies, once active at Oxford, conducted a course in biology. For this study, as might be expected, fees are charged.

c. **New School for Social Research.** Duplicating to some extent the excellent work of the Institute is another Manhattan school for adults, known as the New School for Social Research. This is purely a twentieth-century creation, coming into being in 1919. It seeks, according to its own announcement, "to draw to its lecture rooms . . . . persons of maturity with an intellectual interest, graduates of colleges engaged in professions or in business and men and women who by reading and discussion have prepared themselves for the serious study of social problems." A fair share of the students who attend the New School are college graduates and some even have garnered advanced degrees. In the spring of 1925, for example, of 1,000 students enrolled, 292 had college degrees; 84 had higher degrees; 75 had professional degrees; and 169 had attended college for some kind of study. To meet the needs of these students, the faculty has been carefully picked. Its members must "be men who can speak the layman's language and understand his interests." At the same time, however, they must be

something more than entertainers and popularizers. "They must," to quote the school's announcement, "have unimpeachable academic standing as men who not only recognize the academic canons of exactitude and adequacy, but who also are able to carry on and direct productive scholarship." True to these ideals, the New School has had on its staff such outstanding masters as Charles A. Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Roscoe Pound, Felix Frankfurter, Lewis Mumford, John Dewey, and many others. More recently the school moved into the national spotlight when it honored itself with the services of many notable foreign scholars, who because of their race or social or political credo, had been forced out of their native land.

The courses offered at the New School are fairly advanced and, as might be expected, they lean towards the social. There is work in behaviorism, anthropology, social psychology, in aesthetics, criminology, politics, in history, labor, mental hygiene, and so on; nor are the letters and the arts overlooked. There was, for example, a course in contemporary letters conducted by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana. At the same time Stark Young held forth on the art of the theater; and Lewis Mumford discoursed on architecture in American Civilization. Such work is tempting and as a result the student roster has grown. But despite it all, the New School, like its friendly competitor, the People's Institute, is handicapped by a lack of capital. True, within the past few years it has been able to house itself in a new, modernistic building. But on the whole, whatever it does it must do with relatively meager funds.

d. Workers' education. Workers' education, though an old story in England, is one of the more recent phases of adult education in the United States. Yet despite its

youth and its comparatively small enrollment, workers' education appears to be up-and-coming and, in fact, has caught the interest of some of the colleges. Thus some years ago there was organized at Bryn Mawr a Summer School for Working Women. Strictly speaking, this summer school was not a Bryn Mawr undertaking, but a separate institution using the Bryn Mawr campus and buildings. The school's purpose was:

> to offer young women in industry an opportunity to study liberal subjects and to train themselves in clear thinking, to stimulate an active and continued interest in the problems of our economic order; to develop a desire for study as a means of understanding and enjoyment of life. The school is not committed to any theory. The teaching is carried on by instructors who have an understanding of the students' practical experience in industry and of the labor movement. It is conducted in a spirit of impartial inquiry with freedom of discussion and teaching. It is expected that thus the students will gain a truer insight into the problem of industry and feel a more vital responsibility for their solution.

Eight weeks were offered for the realization of this program, students coming from all parts of the republic. One hundred was the number set for capacity registration. Admission requirements are simple enough. One must be a factory worker, aged between twenty-one and thirty-five, with an elementary schooling or its equivalent. Non-factory workers are not generally admitted, though exceptions have been made in certain instances.

The subjects offered comprise economics, composition and hygiene—all of which are required. In addition the student has to choose one of the following: science, psychology, and literature. Added to all this are a half-dozen lectures on history, cast in at odd hours, at which attendance is optional. The important subject appears to be economics. And since the girls who grace the lecture rooms in this particular instance are of extremely

diverse attitudes and *Weltanschauungen,* ranging from radical Bolsheviks to solid anti-union Tories, the discussions which whip the classroom air are often hot and frictional. To bolster its lectures and discussions the Summer School for Working Women employed a variation of the tutorial system. By it, every instructor had at least one tutorial assistant who was expected to supplement in greater detail the work of his chief. This he did in part in an hour known as the tutorial period, of which there are two or three every week. In such a period the tutor meets a group of about a half-dozen students, holding conference on the matter presented by the instructor to the class as a whole.

The Bryn Mawr enterprise already has been honored by imitators. Starting in 1924 with eight working girls, the University of Wisconsin became converted to the Bryn Mawr idea. Since then several other schools have worked along somewhat similar lines.

At Katonah, N. Y., just about two hours away from the rush and rattle of mad Manhattan, is Brookwood, a residential labor college. Founded in 1921, Brookwood became one of the leading schools in the land for the training of labor leaders. As is usual in workers' education the social sciences get the main stress at Brookwood, there being offerings in parliamentary law, social psychology, social economics, history of civilization, history of the American labor movement, foreign labor, and so on. As at Bryn Mawr the pedagogic method at Brookwood has been adjusted to the heterogeneous make-up of the student body, most classes leaning, however, to the discussional procedure. What corresponds to the graduate seminar method has been employed by some of the second-year classes.

In addition to Brookwood there are several other

branches of workers' education scattered throughout the country. There is, for instance, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with a first-rate and well-developed educational program among national unions. In Pennsylvania the United Mine Workers of America have set up some educational projects of their own. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Portland (Oregon), and several other cities boast of labor colleges which in their chief aspects appear to be versions of Brookwood. Another puissant phase of workers' education has been the Workers' Education Bureau, "a clearing house of the workers' education movement in the United States." In the words of one of its Annual Reports, it strives "to stimulate an interest in education among the workers of this country, to assist in the establishment of study classes in the different localities, to unify the separate experiments on American workers' education and give them the strength that comes from a consciousness of co-operative effort."

4. Adult education abroad

a. **Grundtvig and the Danish Folk High Schools.** Though a nineteenth-century creation, the people's colleges or folk high schools (*folkshöjskoler*) of Denmark are still significant in their general pedagogical influence. As a matter of fact, some of the main features of modern adult education throughout the world find their origin in the Danish schools. The spiritual sire of the folk high schools was the Lutheran Bishop Nikolaij Grundtvig. Religious and democratic to the core, the Danish bishop was motivated in his movement for the enlightenment of the people by a deep faith in man's fundamental nobility. Like Abraham Lincoln, he was interested in the common man. The leaders of Grundtvig's movement sprang from

the masses, from the humble tillers of the soil, from workers and cottagers. Indeed, it was because of these people that the folk high schools took on their freedom of form and method which lifted them above the traditional academic plane characterizing the older schools. Inspired by the ideals of Grundtvig, the prototype of folk high school came into being in 1844 in the village of Rödding in northern Slesvig. Briefly, this was an economic, cultural, and anti-Prussian movement, and was expected to help bring about a revival of Danish *Kultur*, which at the time had plunged to the depths. True to the spirit of Grundtvig's teachings, the Rödding venture was intended as an antidote for the formal brand of education of the regular secondary schools. Four years after the founding of Rödding, Denmark and Prussia went to war, with ruinous results, as everyone knows, for the Scandinavians. But in time the bitterness of the disaster was sweetened with a few gains in other directions.

b. The work of Christian Kold. It was about this time that the name of Christian Kold made its first connection with the folk high school. Trained for the teaching profession, Kold had spent part of his early life as a schoolmaster. His outlandish pedagogical ideas, however, had vexed the authorities, who practically banned him from the teaching profession in Denmark. With the establishment of a more liberal form of government after the war with Prussia, these obscurantists lost much of their power and Kold once more turned to schoolmastering—this time, however, in his own private way. An ardent disciple of Grundtvig, Kold established a school at Ryslinge where he bought a few acres of ground and built a small shack consisting of kitchen, living room, and a three-windowed schoolroom. At first there were some fifteen students—young men ranging from the late teens

to the early thirties. Together with Kold and his assistant they slept in the attic. What they paid for their tuition and keep was ridiculously little—about three dollars a month. Subsequently, Kold moved his school to another part of the island, and in 1862 he built a much larger school at Dalum where every year he continued to attract students in large numbers.

Kold's magnetic talent for lifting the heart and mind of the young man of the common people was extraordinary, as was also his gift for arousing a desire for a richer spiritual life. His teaching was oral, for he felt that personal contact with his audience was most important. For him the "living word" was the master-key that unlocked the student's desire to learn. With his great friend Grundtvig, he believed that "our schools are not teaching pupils to think; they are keeping them from thinking." His teaching was plain and informal. When he first began to teach, he spoke on history, literature, and the Scriptures, and his talks were always followed by discussion. Naturally, as time went by, his pedagogical idea and procedures were frequently changed and adjusted to his experience, but even with the expansion of the folk high school movement and the rise of a more precise academic procedure, the underlying pedagogy never has been ritualized. Kold was not interested in knowledge as such, and during his lectures he did not even allow his hearers to take notes. He once said:

> If we lay a drain pipe, we mark the spot in order to find it again in case of necessary repair, but when we sow grain it is not necessary to mark the spot. And you may be sure what you have heard and enjoyed hearing will come forth again when it has taken root in your mind.

Kold believed that if he could awaken his pupils to an understanding of the personal value of human life, it

would be relatively easy for them to acquire learning that would enable them to get on in the world. Once when two farm laborers asked him what good they would derive from being his pupils, Kold replied: "We used to have a grandfather's clock at home which, when wound up, would run for a week, but I shall wind you up so that never in your life will you stop again."

c. Recent trends. Today there are some sixty of these people's schools throughout Denmark. In addition, similar schools are found in other Scandinavian domains as well as in Finland and some of the Teutonic countries on the continent. The folk high schools are private ventures, and hence are not part of the established system of public education. Attendance, of course, is strictly voluntary. Though the schools are private the Danish state donates funds annually to help in their support, and some nine thousand young men and women, between the ages of seventeen and thirteen, attend during the year. Such schools vary greatly in dimension, the smallest comprising about twenty students and the largest about two hundred.

The folk high schools, as has been suggested, are not interested in turning out men of learning. Aiming to "enable pupils to return to their daily work with a deeper understanding of human life and its problems," these schools of twentieth-century Denmark have kept close to the ideals of the founding fathers. Thus the social subjects and letters are stressed, and the environment is socialized. In a sense, the folk high school is a home, the pupils, teachers, and the principal and his wife living together very much like a family. Besides the lecture and its ensuing discussion, considerable stress is put upon that incidental spontaneous education which comes from a learning situation. This may be on a hike; or it may emerge from a conversation. It may be in the classroom,

or perhaps it may be when all are seated together at their meal. But whether it be lecture or discussion, within the four walls of a schoolroom or out in the boundless stretches of woodland or field, learning always proceeds in the grand manner, for its own sake, for pleasure and mental excitement, without social or economic rewards—indeed, even minus such academic ornaments as examinations, credits, degrees, and diplomas.

Twentieth-century Denmark is, of course, quite different from the Denmark of Grundtvig and Kold. During the lifetime of these two the nation was predominantly agricultural; today less than half the population is engaged in farming. When the folk high school was launched, the spirit of nationalism was effervescing; today in Denmark this has become much mellower. The original folk high schools catered primarily to the untutored; today the general culture of the masses is on a much higher plane. Yet despite these and many other changes, the folk high school's fundamental goal is as valid as ever. This, as has been suggested, was primarily spiritual; and in the current postwar world, with its farrago of disintegrating, corrupting forces, the soaring spiritual influences of the folk high school are probably needed more than ever.

The folk high school naturally has not been unmindful of changing social and economic conditions. Its aims may be substantially the same; but its means and methods have been adjusted to the modern tempo. More stress is now put on the individual's creative efforts. There is a rising interest in aesthetics and art criticism. Curiously enough, the majority of students in the present-day folk high school show very little interest in social problems. This, Danish school men have explained, is due to the fact that the larger part of the students at-

tracted to the folk high school emanate from the rural populace, which seems to have been fortunately blessed with relatively good social conditions. The industrial class, which in Denmark, as in most lands, is keenly interested in the problems of social reconstruction, does not attend the folk high schools in any large number. Gradually, however, it has become more and more apparent that the folk high school should be an important force among the working classes, particularly in its striving to lift the masses of young Danes to a higher *niveau* in life. It must therefore be something more than a country school. At Copenhagen, notably, there is a large free folk high school, which since 1911 has been featuring what are known as *holiday* courses. Officially its program is known as "A Week at a Folk High School." Thousands of students have participated in this work, and most of these come from the homes of the workers. In the wintertime they are given the opportunity of renewing the cordial relationship with their teachers by attending lectures and social gatherings at the Grundtvig House. The special needs of the urban learner have been further recognized by the establishment of a folk high school for the people of Copenhagen. Its founder is Johan Borup, a distinguished worker in the modern folk high school movement, and under whose lead some seven hundred students annually attend.

One of the more recent developments of the folk high school movement is the International Folk High School at Elsinore, which seeks "to bring young men and women from different nations together for mutual study and daily intercourse." It was launched in 1921 under the direction of its principal, Peter Manniche, with an enrollment of twenty-four pupils from eight different countries. Today it attracts more than a hundred students yearly.

Most of the pupils are Scandinavians, of which, as is to be expected, the greater number are Danish. But there are also Americans, English, Austrians, Germans, Scotch, and Irish. The school "is personal in its methods and ethical in its aims, trying to assert the Christian principles in individual, social and national life." Lectures and discussions, as usual, are featured with much stress on individual private study and expression; the curriculum is flexible enough to include virtually everything of any significance. The linguistic differences of the students, instead of being a stumbling block, have been harnessed to learning, a great deal of emphasis being put on the study of foreign languages. Wherever possible, foreign languages are taught by native teachers. It is in this work that the school has been particularly successful. True to the great spirit of Grundtvig, the International Folk High School is full of the democratic spirit. The spirit of equality has wiped out any trace of class distinction which the students may have brought from their homeland.

d. **Fritz Wartenweiler and adult education in Switzerland.** The light from the North has flashed in other lands, and descendants of the original folk high schools have arisen in many other parts of the world; but wherever they are and whatever their work, they have attained true significance only where their leaders have caught a glimpse of those ideals and the altruism that motivated the school's spiritual pioneers, men like Grundtvig and Kold.

Such a leader is Fritz Wartenweiler, who for more than a score of years has given himself unstintingly to the cause of adult education in Switzerland. As a boy he was attracted to farming, which he hoped to make his career. But in time the idea of becoming a teacher beckoned.

Eventually he went to Berlin, where he studied education and philosophy. Then his studies lured him to Copenhagen, where his interest in the Folk High School was ignited.

His Danish impressions, in time, were to bear fruit—but not until Wartenweiler had thoroughly trained and disciplined himself for the task. To lift the Swiss peasantry and instill in it the remarkable spirit he had observed in Denmark, Wartenweiler set out to learn all he could, both about teaching and also about the people he wanted to teach. He accepted a teaching post in one of the public schools in his native canton of Thurgau, where he taught seventy pupils—all grades and all ages. In fact, he even taught twenty-year-olds in the local continuation school. Like Pestalozzi, his great countryman, Wartenweiler radiated a magnificent and boundless enthusiasm. And again like Pestalozzi, for the final success of his work he ascribes no little credit to his students and associates. "What my pupils learned from me during those years," he has said, "I don't know; but what I learned from them is incalculable."

> Most of all I probably learned from the peasant men and women in the villages by the lake. In my dealings with them it wasn't just a question of avoiding foreign words. Rather it was a question of winning once more a real interest for their cattle in the stables, in fertilizers for the fields, for seeds and fruit . . . . Unconsciously our conversation would turn to their children in school and at home, and to the needs and joys of teaching.

It was not until 1919, when the Swiss were struggling with the war's aftermath, that Wartenweiler finally launched his educational enterprise. He began in a modest way with only five young men as his students. In the home of his wife's parents he discussed those questions which interested and affected his students. In history

the present was related to the past, and the French Revolution became the particular historical mirror which seemed to reflect so many present-day problems. One of Wartenweiler's helpers, a young scientist, initiated the eager learners in the myriad mysteries of the astral bodies and the immutable laws of nature. Some hours were given every day to labor in the fields, which more than generously compensated the workers by providing most of the necessities of life. All the practical work around the house was done by the students themselves. Thus the experiment continued from the dawn of spring to the end of fall, winter being reserved by Wartenweiler for the teaching of his own sons.

In the course of time came growth. More ground was rented; more land cultivated. Suddenly opportunity knocked and a whole farm was leased. "We dared to do it," reports Wartenweiler, "and our tractor helped us." Then in 1925 Wartenweiler's lease was canceled and the school was closed.

With the closing of his school, Wartenweiler set about to familiarize the populace with his ideals. He journeyed from place to place, giving a lecture here and there, stopping sometimes for a week or so to talk to the people. A facile and entertaining speaker, who talked the simple language of the common people, who understood their ways and sympathized with their hopes and interests, he attracted more and more listeners. Meanwhile, three schools working along lines similar to his were established in various parts of Switzerland. At one of them, in Neukirch, he became a frequent guest and teacher. Then a number of people interested in Wartenweiler's work organized a society, the *Freunde Schweizerischer Volksbildungsheime,* for the purpose of fostering and aiding his project. In 1929 Wartenweiler offered courses once more,

but only for a month in the summer. This time the students flocked to him. So encouraging was the venture that in the ensuing winter he repeated it with the same notable results. Indeed, his house was always filled, since many of his protégés remained longer than a month. Some of them, incidentally, were unemployed and were assisted to some extent by the organization of *Freunde.*

In the course of time came special courses for older people. Since most of them were tied down by their vocation, Wartenweiler instituted special holiday courses for them. Two or three times every summer men and women gather at Neukirch for a week or so to discuss problems of common interest. There is always, however, some central theme around which these talks are woven. Special stress is put upon a study of the world's great men and women of past and present, such as Pestalozzi, Vinet, Marx, Catherine Booth, Josephine Butler, Gandhi, Lenin, Hitler, and so on. Through lectures and panel discussions for large and small groups, solutions to problems are sought, misconceptions cleared and confidence awakened. As might be expected among the Swiss, such an occasion would be sadly incomplete without plenty of music and singing.

All this striving seems now to have been saluted by success. Surviving hard economic storms and all sorts of harsh political winds, Wartenweiler's folk schools are still growing in size and influence and number. In the mighty Jura mountains stands the newest folk school, dedicated to the ideals of Wartenweiler—a product of his ardor, and bigger and more hopeful than any of its predecessors. The *Freunde Schweizerischer Volksbildungsheime,* too, have risen in number and influence; through their interesting and provocative pamphlets they have done much to create a living interest in the movement.

Wartenweiler's schools are not quite as spiritual and religious as their Danish forerunners. Having no partisan ax to grind, they strive as far as possible to consider all points of view. The result is that at times they have reaped the furore of factions which are blind to all save their own particular way of saving the world. In the *Schimpflexikon* of his foes Wartenweiler has been set down at various times as a non-liberal, a radical, as non-socialist and socialist, as fascist and communist. Another mark of difference between Wartenweiler's schools and those of Denmark is that in the former the peasantry does not dominate. The vocational representation among Wartenweiler's protégés is vast in its variety, including plumbers and teachers, blacksmiths and nurses, mechanics and writers, and many others.

e. Adult education in England. In England adult education is no new story. Springing into existence more than a century ago, the movement is today firmly rooted. In its most common guise it appears as workers' education. And here, interestingly enough, staunch and conservative academic strongholds like Oxford and Cambridge have lent a helping hand. Since 1907, due to the co-operation between labor groups and the universities, several varieties of higher education are now available to workers. It was the talent and effort of a Britisher, Dr. Albert Mansbridge, and his colleagues that helped to launch the World Association for Adult Education. Founded in 1918, this organization seeks "the development of adult education throughout the world and the federation in one Association of individuals and institutions concerned with adult education in all countries." Coming from the motherland, a country which has always leaned strongly towards a decentralized system of education, with an abundance of home rule for the various local

authorities, this unifying purpose of the Association appears at first blush to bear a foreign mark. Yet the idea seems to be making splendid headway. The Association already has attracted members from more than forty nations. In twenty lands, moreover, it has organized what are called "supporting bodies." The Association, in the words of Morse Cartwright,

> is continually encouraging the formation of representative committees on adult education in all countries. In addition, it maintains a Bureau of Information relating to all countries; it publishes Quarterly Bulletins containing results of research; it maintains a traveling secretary in Europe; it has raised an international study fund for adult education tutors, and has sponsored numerous university public lectures on adult education.

f. **Adult education in Republican Germany.** The World War is often cited as at least one of the many factors that has contributed to heighten activity in the field of adult education. Just how far, of course, remains to be seen. At all events there seems ground for belief in that direction, especially when one scrutinizes the situation in Russia and in postwar Republican Germany. In the Reich the interest in adult education goes back to the swaddling days of the defunct empire, beginning in earnest in 1871 with the creation of the *Gesellschaft für Verbreitung der Volksbildung*. True to its German name, this society was anointed for the task of spreading education to the masses on a grand scale. It was to appeal particularly to the newly enfranchised citizenry and was to serve as an antidote to what its backers liked to call the "cultural monopoly" of the upper classes. Like many similar intellectual brotherhoods, this *Gesellschaft* performed mainly through lectures. Besides this phase of adult learning, the Germans, especially in the larger cities, developed an attractive array of specialized

technical and practical courses for grownups. By 1905 the Danish influence had begun to make itself felt in Germany, with the consequent establishment in Germany of several people's higher schools. After the war adult education began to move full speed ahead and took on, incidentally, many of the guises familiar to democratic Americans. Especially significant was the florescence of the people's colleges. As often in Republican Germany, these institutes represented a welter of conflicting ideals. Thus, on the one hand, there were those of a purely socialistic brand whose reason for being appears to have been mainly to augment the number of Marxians. On the other hand, there were the purely nationalistic folk colleges run for the purpose of developing hundred-percent patriotic Germans. Besides these there were flocks of schools for adults run on denominational Christian lines and appealing particularly to the peasantry. In the last analysis most of these schools were propaganda temples, dedicated not to the pursuit of truth, but for the furtherance of their own private causes. Less opinionated was the neutral type of folk school. Manned in the main by gentlemen without any particular ax to grind, this sort of institution generally was operated in an air of intellectual freedom. In many ways it corresponded to the better types of American schools for adults. Its aim was not to roar for this or that doctrine, but rather to weigh and consider all brands of doctrine and to expose fraud and flummery. In the Third Reich, where propaganda and regimentation are accepted as essentials of education, such schools, of course, no longer exist. Whatever adult education is found in Germany today is, as might be expected, closely related to the ideals of National Socialism.

g. **Adult education in Soviet Russia.** In the U.S.S.R. adult education is also getting considerable attention.

Directly tied up with the Russian endeavor to make communism permanent is the bolshevik program of "political enlightenment." In the words of Lenin: "The workers seek knowledge because they need it in their campaign of conquest. Nine-tenths of them realize that knowledge is a necessary tool in their fight for liberation. . . . ." One of the main phases of Russian adult education is the battle against illiteracy. Thus, between 1920 and 1923, according to Soviet statistics, some 2,400,000 men and women were made literate; and by the end of 1940 this roll of honor is to be swelled by the addition of many millions more. Besides the campaign for literacy the work of political enlightenment comprises most of the familiar cultural features of adult education found in other lands. Thus there are the usual organized lectures, discussions, and debates. There are circulating libraries and reading rooms. There are aesthetic exhibits, concerts, and literary evenings. And, of course, considerable time is devoted to the indoctrination of communistic ideology. "The guiding principle of the work of practically all institutions of political enlightenment," says Pinkevitch, "is to integrate agitation, propaganda, and teaching with the proximate interests of the adult learner."

G. Modernizing the College

1. The new college

Of all American educational institutions, the college, I believe, probably has been the most caustically censured. Proclaimed an idolator of hoary tradition, it has been accused of being hopelessly unadjusted to the needs of modern society. College graduates, some pedagogical wiseacres have maintained, are "unprepared for participation in the life of a social democracy." Many of these

charges have been, I fear, ill-founded. Probably the truest criticism, from a pedagogical viewpoint, is the ancient claim that the college always has tended to lag somewhat behind the times. Thus, while the lower and secondary schools were bathing in the newer pedagogical methods based somewhat on the results of educational research, the college has been cruising serenely in old and familiar lanes. Of recent years, however, the college of old appears to be fading. A new college is supplanting it. One of the most striking aspects of this new college is its amazing registration. Gifted members of the statistical brotherhood have noted, for example, that for one student attending college in 1890 there are five today. Thus, in a purely mathematical way, classes which in the gay nineties had ten members today would be manned by fifty, and a college having an enrollment of a thousand head today would be bulging with five thousand. This flood of registrants has brought with it a cargo of perplexing problems. The numbers of students have gone up, but the means of providing for them, alas, has not been able to match the scorching pace. Educational costs, like nearly every other cost, have been on the rise. But endowments have tended to remain relatively stationary. With the growth of mass education, moreover, the individual student and his needs are lost in the crowd. Social and economic conditions have changed so vastly as to make the traditional college curriculum inadequate. The new membership of the college is making new demands, and the college of tradition is unprepared to meet them.

2. The survey

One indication of the transformation which is coming over the college is the fact that it is beginning to study

itself. Many colleges, driven by public demand to justify their reason for being, have undertaken what are known as self-surveys. The object of a self-survey, I take it, is not so much to arrive at any definite conclusion as it is to clear the field for further study. Self-surveys may be either general or special. In the former case every possible phase of college education is investigated. Where the survey is special it is restricted to some particular aspect of college education, such as the study of the undergraduate instruction in Harvard's department of economics made by the department of education.

One of the most comprehensive surveys ever conducted by any higher institution of learning is that of Wisconsin in 1914. This was a general survey ordered by the state legislature for the purpose of finding out the truth about the university's work so as to "clarify some of the doubts in the minds of the tax-paying public of the state of Wisconsin." An attempt was made to snare the co-operation of the faculty, the students, and the alumni. Every member of the teaching staff was expected to answer in detail the questions set forth in an elaborate questionnaire. This, interestingly enough, covered pretty nearly every phase of the teacher's relationship to the university. Thus it sought light on such matters as the prof's teaching qualifications and experience, methods of grading students' work, faculty and departmental meetings, committee assignments, summer and outside employment, measures of teaching efficiency, and so on. The alumni and former students tackled another sort of question-sheet. They were expected to shed information about courses—especially about the kind of courses preferred and the kind slighted. There were in addition plenty of questions about highly efficient instruction, faculty advisers, extra-curricular activities, secret societies, honor system, stu-

dent government, etc. Besides Wisconsin's self-study others have been made at Colorado, Iowa, Maryland, Miami, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, and elsewhere.

The findings of a self-survey, as I have already hinted, are helpful as a means to an end. Based on the questionnaire method, such a survey at best is only semi-scientific. The survey is only a searchlight; it illuminates problems, but it doesn't solve them. To be efficient, a survey, naturally enough, should be conducted by properly qualified persons. If made exclusively by members of a given college, a self-survey is rarely satisfactory, largely because of the absence of an objective critical attitude. On the other hand, a survey in the sole charge of educational experts too often results in vague generalities. Various foundations such as the Carnegie and the Russell Sage Foundation might be ideal surveyors, did they not have it in their power to give or withhold an endowment. The ideal group of surveyors should be independent, thoroughly familiar with the local and special conditions of the college to be studied, and possessed, moreover, of a working knowledge of the principles and practices of modern education. Above all, they ought to be earnest and courageous searchers for truth, unencumbered in their work, and unafraid to stir up disagreeable facts. Such fellows, I confess, are certainly rare, if not extinct.

3. Reorganization of entrance requirements and methods of admission

Under the pressure of the vast registration growth, many colleges have found themselves compelled to revise their admission requirements. The usual requirement for admission to college is the equivalent of graduation from a standard four-year high school. A candidate must

present evidence, either by certificate or by examination, that he has completed fifteen units of high school work. Some of these units are definitely fixed; others are elective. Some institutions are trying out the psychological tests as a means of determining admission, but these efforts are still in the experimental state. The general tendency seems to be to demand a higher standard of work on the part of the candidate. To that end the average grade required for admission is being raised, and the type of entrance examination is being changed so as to make it, as far as possible, a test of power and ability rather than of memory. To enter a first-rate college on condition is becoming increasingly difficult. Many halls of higher learning already have "conditionless" classes. There is a growing tendency to stress the candidate's high school record, both academic and otherwise. In many colleges personal interviews are held with the prospective matriculant, and some of the intellectual ateliers even require their prospective students to have the recommendation of some illustrious adult, such as, for example, the high school principal, a prominent citizen, or an alumnus.

Most of the trends I have just cited are healthy, I daresay, in so far as they make the sorting of college material less haphazard. Examination results are now only one means of determining who is fit for college. Factors of personality are being given much greater weight than ever. Selection is becoming much more rigorous by means of these revisions, but at the same time a more flexible and much broader method is being developed. When a nascent collegian is to be judged not alone by the results of a single examination but also by his general high school career, a mental examination, a personal interview with a responsible representative of the college,

and a confidential report made by the high school principal, the chances are that the college ought to be in a better position to choose its students than ever before.

Still, in all this grand technique plenty of weaknesses flourish. Does the practice, for example, of raising the average grade for college entrance mean that the college is going to get more scholarly students? It means, I am convinced, nothing of the sort. Actually the modern high school graduate with his higher average is no better equipped than his predecessor of another day with a lower average. At bottom, the higher average, I daresay, is merely the ancient average in disguise. Papers which formerly snared sixty-five per cent as a minimum passing grade, are today decorated with seventy or seventy-five per cent. This obviously is inflation. The numerical value of the passing mark has been hoisted, but the actual quality of the work is in the main unchanged.

The system of having prospective students get the recommendation of their high school principals or of some prominent burgher has been installed in a number of colleges. The new college for women at Bennington, Vermont, requires a confidential report from the principal and two teachers of the school attended by the candidate. At Oberlin the intending matriculant must present a recommendation "by a prominent citizen who vouches for the candidate's character and ability." Dartmouth asks its prospects to show the endorsement of an alumnus who is to sign a certificate whereon he rates the candidate according to intellectual interest, native ability, individuality, faithfulness, originality, integrity, straightforwardness, clear-mindedness, fair play, interest in fellows, and leadership.

The aim of the recommendation system is, I suppose,

to uncover good personality. But this, as everyone knows, is always a difficult job. Certainly no short interview ever will adequately accomplish the task. To rate a member of the human race on the basis of the Dartmouth rating blank requires high talents on the part of the examiner. While students with handsome personalities will no doubt be selected in most cases, mistakes are none the less likely to be made. Since the examiner is usually not an expert, he will tend to hold the mirror up to his own personality and make himself the standard. In the country club sort of college the recommendation magic is a very excellent way of getting the "nice people." Candidates with pleasant manners, good clothes, and a conforming disposition will pluck a high rating on the personality scale. But those fellows whose manners are a bit brusque, whose clothes aren't just right, and whose minds are individual enough to refuse to conform in all things will hardly be accepted by the prominent citizen or by the loyal alumnus. Thus the college is in danger of losing some of the very students it needs most.

4. Curricular readjustment

Due to the rapid and extensive growth of the natural sciences and the application of human knowledge to everyday practical affairs, the aristocratic ideal of the college perpetuated since the Renaissance is slowly fading. There is, as is well known, an increasing demand for technical and practical courses. Learning for its own unadorned sake is steadily losing ground. The installation in the college curriculum of such courses as dressmaking, football coaching, cafeteria managing, trombone playing, clog dancing, and cargoes of similar grotesqueries is an obvious response to this demand. Even some of the

postgraduate university courses have become infected with this practical-service ideal.

The multiplication of courses, moreover, has increased the tendency to treat subject matter in compartments, to look upon education as just so many courses taken or credits received, without regard to their interrelationships. This lack of organization among the student's several courses is beginning to be seen as a problem of the first order. Indeed, some college educators have become convinced at last that entirely too much stress is put on the snaring of credits and the passing of courses, and too little emphasis on the development of the student's ability to think through new problems. Too often the student carries away from college only a scattering of knowledge which hasn't been presented to him as a unit. To remedy this situation various *quasi* experiments have been made. For one thing, there is an increasing co-operation between the high school and the college in determining courses. In the second place, there is a reaction against the free elective system as inaugurated by Charles W. Eliot at Harvard. For another thing, there is on foot a movement to give the college student the elements of a "broad, fundamental training combined with a limited amount of specialization." Furthermore, some colleges are flirting with what has been called a general final examination. Finally, there are some attempts to meet the special needs of the exceptional student by allowing him greater latitude and freedom in the working out of individual problems.

5. College and high school rapprochement

No doubt there is a growing rapprochement between college and high school. I have already referred to the

principal's recommendation of his protégés for college admission. Some houses of the higher learning have adopted the practice of reporting to the high school on the quality of the work done by its graduates, at least during their freshman year at college. The purpose here, I take it, is to throw greater responsibility on the high school. Knowing that their recommendations are going to be watched, principals don't dare to become too glowing in their eulogies. There is also a rising tendency on the part of some colleges to adjust their requirements for graduation to what a student brings with him from the high school. At least one college of major repute, for example, allows college credit in mathematics and foreign languages to a student who presents more than the entrance requirements in those subjects and has more than the necessary total number of units needed for admission.

6. The elective system

When Charles W. Eliot inaugurated the elective system at Harvard, he was reacting, at bottom, against the prevailing idea that college students of and by themselves would attempt nothing worth-while in education. Eliot's thrust was decidedly a blow against curricular prescriptions which included generous slices of the classics and mathematics, and which gave the student very little opportunity to try his hand at self-direction. After several years of tinkering on the machinery of the elective system, however, the college curricular virtuosi finally have decided that while the elective system may have excellent virtues, in the hands of the average student it refuses to perform with satisfaction. Most contemporary educational leaders are convinced that the student's choice of subjects needs to be controlled. There has been, as one pedagogue has phrased it, "too much intellectual vagrancy

on the part of the student." Some masters, as, for example, Dr. Meiklejohn, are convinced that the elective system is chiefly responsible for the incoherence and confusion in college teaching today.

7. Survey courses

To give the student a background for his advanced work, many of our higher institutions have installed what are known as general survey courses. At the University of Iowa the survey course has evolved from a series of freshmen lectures. The aim here is "to give the freshman student information and guidance in his college life" and "to give a vision of the world of knowledge and skill as it appears in institutions of higher learning . . . . to waken (in the student) a desire to learn." Columbia requires its frosh to attend what is known as "Contemporary Civilization." Here the purpose is also high, as witness: "To give the student early in his college course objective material upon which to base his own further studies." At Dartmouth a brace of similar courses is required of all freshmen. The Dartmouth courses are known as "Citizenship" and "Evolution." This survey tendency, curiously enough, is now beginning to manifest itself in the senior year. Here, obviously, such a course serves no longer as an introduction but rather as a summary and review. Not so long ago a committee of the distinguished American Association of University Professors put into print some warnings against the survey courses. For one thing, the learned professors felt that such courses tend to be superficial, leaving the student with a "false impression that the treatment of the subject dealt with is definitive." For another thing, as usual, it is difficult to get competent instructors to teach a survey course effectively. In some quarters, however, the survey

magic is plucking an abundance of praise. Dr. Boas, while active at Johns Hopkins, for example, felt that the survey course "was successful in making students more aware of the means by which thought becomes coherent and intelligent. . . . . What has been most noticeable is that as the year progressed the students showed themselves more capable of asking good questions. . . . . [They] began to show a realization that some questions were enlightening and others were simply time-killers." All of which, I daresay, could have been achieved just as well without a survey course.

8. Culture and service

Many colleges of recent years have shown a marked tendency to organize their work so as to lay the foundations of "general culture" and at the same time offer the student some means of preparing for his life work. Thus several of our up-to-date houses of the intellect have confected such combination courses as the college-commerce, college-education, college-journalism, college-music, and so on. The aim here, as many experts have expounded, is "to make the college prepare for life." It is in this spirit, I believe, that Vassar has created its celebrated Department of Euthenics. Stripped of its high-toned smack, euthenics becomes "the direct application of the sciences to the betterment of living conditions." The field, curiously enough, includes a vast congeries of knowledge, ranging from horticulture to heredity, from the family to physiology.

9. The Harvard concentration plan

Another attempt to throttle the student's habit of thinking in terms of isolated courses is the Harvard concentration plan. Under this scheme the Harvard learner

concentrates at least six courses in a given field or related fields of knowledge. Lest he overspecialize, his professors also make him "distribute" four courses. There must be work in literature—either domestic or foreign—science, history, and philosophy or mathematics. The various fields of concentration cover the whole stock of human knowledge. Not only must the student perform his work satisfactorily, but in all subjects except mathematics and the general sciences he must, at the end of his senior year, undergo a general final examination in the subject wherein he has concentrated. No matter how marvelously he may have glowed in his individual courses, if he fails to pass this general inquisition, he is not considered ready for his degree. Naturally enough, preparation for such a final examination requires considerable wisdom and foresight on the part of the student in the selection of his courses. In order to make the numerous isolated details hang together as a body of organized knowledge, the learner will have to undertake a vast amount of planned reading and systematic reflection. With the development of the concentration scheme there is evolving a tutorial method of instruction. There appears to be a need for an instructor who has a general comprehension of the field of concentration, and who, moreover, is mature and sane enough to give wise counsel to the student in the planning of his courses.

10. Honors courses

In his inaugural address at Swarthmore College in October, 1921, President Aydelotte declared that:

> . . . . the most fundamentally wasteful feature of our educational institutions is the lack of a higher standard of intellectual attainment. We are educating more students up to a fair average than any country in the world, but we are wastefully allowing the capacity

of the average to prevent us from bringing the best up to the standards they could reach Our most important task at the present is to check this waste.

The way to do it appears simple enough. It is, says Dr. Aydelotte, "to give those students who are really interested in the intellectual life harder and more independent work than could profitably be given to those whose devotion to matters of the intellect is less keen. . . . ." President Aydelotte's ukase, I daresay, is fundamentally a recognition of the danger which besets an educational scheme wallowing in too much democracy. In the domain of the intellect, as everywhere else, democracy caters to the masses. If in the past, collegiate holders of high I. Q.'s were able to do work that was proportionate to their high and special gifts, it was in spite of the system of which they were a part rather than because of it. True, to encourage nascent Einsteins there have always been such gauds as cash awards, medallions, and keys in the esteemed Phi Beta. But aside from these minor tributes, little attention was given to the needs of the more-than-average intellectually potent. It is, I suspect, to meet the requirements of such fellows that Swarthmore has graciously rigged up its honor courses. Under this plan students of special aptitude may become honors students at the end of their sophomore year. As such they are excused from course requirements and from ordinary examinations. They attend classes as they see fit. In return for this blessing, however, they are expected to consecrate two years to mastering a definite field of knowledge. Therein they are to be examined at the end of their senior year. These exams are comprehensive, and consist of about a dozen three-hour papers, whereupon follows an oral inquisition which, as might be expected, is most penetrating in its search. When the

student has traversed all these inquisitorial highroads without being felled by some unsuspected academic assassin, he is converted into a *baccalaureus artium* of the first, second, or third class—a distinction which he no doubt has earned. Should he fail to turn in work of a sufficiently high order, he is outfitted with a simple A. B., but without honors.

Very similar to the honors magic at Swarthmore is the system of special honors at Smith. Here, too, the student is given a vast plateful of *Lernfreiheit*. As at Swarthmore, the Smith honors candidate may attend classes as she chooses. Her work is planned by a general director, who, however, gives courteous heed to what the student actually wants. Departments, in other words, are not encouraged to go on the prowl for students by shoving learners into courses against their will. The Smith student for honors works in a special field in which she takes in six sub-divisions, two each semester. Every fortnight or so the Smith honors girl is required to organize her ideas into a short paper which is then discussed by instructor and student. During the last semester a longer paper is compounded, and some time is now devoted to a general review. This is inspired by the purpose of preparing for a difficult final examination, covering the field of the student's work of the last two years.

The honors system is on the rise, and more than a hundred colleges are experimenting with some form of it. The most valuable aspect of the scheme, some believe, is that it encourages the gifted student to shoulder responsibility. But there are, of course, many other benefits. Thus it puts a premium on the student's initiative; it encourages individual thinking; it permits training in judgment; and it allows a student to work at his own pace without being held back by the rank and file of the aver-

age. Too much stress, perhaps, has been put on the final examination. But this objection is still in the realm of the controversial.

11. Other tendencies

Besides the tendencies already described there are, of course, many others. There is, for example, a greater effort to guide the student in the solution of his many problems. Many colleges have installed what is known as Freshman Week, or something similar, in which an attempt is made to help the incoming student get his bearings. Some institutions have a faculty adviser for each class. Varying considerably in power and influence, such an adviser can, naturally, help to guide his protégés. The position of dean of men or dean of women is, of course, a familiar one.

Some colleges have begun to suspect that their instruction might be improved, and are beginning to give greater heed to instructional efficiency. In the college, however, this tendency is still in its infancy. Some colleges are also beginning to raise their standards of scholarship. The question of athletics is still making the welkin ring. On the one hand, there are those who would de-emphasize sports, who feel that gigantic crowds and large gate receipts are not for the best interests of the college. On the other hand, there are those who see no dangers to the college in big-time athletics. A few years ago, under the impetus of a Carnegie investigation, a number of evils in college football were revealed, with the result that some institutions of learning began to de-emphasize their athletics. If some colleges are beginning to put less stress on intercollegiate athletics, many of them are putting more emphasis on intramural sports.

The matter of the curriculum has already been dis-

cussed. In general the trend in this domain seems to be to offer courses which once were deemed unworthy of collegiate recognition. The tendency to liberalize the college curriculum is on the whole relatively recent in origin, and no doubt is an extension of the movement which historically started much earlier in the lower schools. The movement in part is due to the demands of the students themselves. Another cause, no doubt, is the college's larger concept of its reason for being. The old, restricted academic motive, while still adhered to by many institutions, has become considerably enlarged, and today America's higher learning has harnessed itself in a growing way to the community and its needs. The movement has been criticized particularly by those who feel that this "service idea" is putting out the flame of scholarship. Practical subjects, ranging from courses in Millinery to Baseball Theory, they fear, will tend to get the preference. Or, to put it in somewhat different words, the colleges will tend more and more to appeal to the mass appetite instead of concentrating on the development of leaders. In line with the new courses has come an army of new academic degrees. The simple bachelor's degree in arts or in science has been expanded into dozens of forms and has produced such offspring as the Master of Church Administration and the Bachelor of Science in Practical Arts and Letters.

H. Education and International Relations

The dominant note in education throughout the world today appears to be highly nationalistic. In essence this trend is, of course, simply a reflection of the economic and political order which has emerged since the World War. Yet despite the power of this dynamic super-

nationalism there are still a few modest forces steering in the direction of better international co-operation. To begin with, there is the immense development of science and technics. Through them we have reached the point where international communication and contact have become fabulously simple. Time and space have been reduced, and theoretically at any rate, the nations should feel their common humanness more than ever before. Learning and culture are at bottom international and, if not crushed or distorted by dictatorial authority and propaganda, generally rise above national and racial barriers. Higher education, at its best, frequently has been described as a force for international understanding. Unfortunately, even here authoritarian regimes have shamelessly trimmed the wicks of the lamp of learning and forced it to throw flickering shadows over the search for truth. However, the effect of international conferences on education cannot be overlooked. Such gatherings have become increasingly frequent. International organizations on education, such as the New Education Fellowship with its many international branches and the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, have done much to further the international aspects of education.

In addition, several educators have dedicated themselves to the great task of running schools to effect better international understanding. Two such pioneers are Kees Boeke, of Holland, and Paul Geheeb, of Switzerland. Kees Boeke has for several years been running the Children's Workshop Community at Bilthoven, Holland. In its organization, methods, and curricula this is a typical progressive school. Greatly interested in the international aspects of education, Boeke is seeking to extend the work of his school on an international basis, with pupils

in the Children's Community coming from many lands.

As creator of the *Odenwaldschule* in pre-Nazi Germany (see page 116), Geheeb performed magnificently in the field of progressive education. With the advent of National Socialism, his teaching freedom was considerably curtailed, and finally he closed his school and migrated to the more hospitable Switzerland, where after many ups and downs he established his *Ecole d'Humanité* (School of Humanity) not far from Geneva in 1937. Two years later he transferred his venture to Morat, in the canton of Fribourg.[8] At bottom, Geheeb's new school is simply the logical continuation of the work he launched in Germany. At the original *Odenwaldschule* the pupils came from many countries, with the result that there was a definite international atmosphere about the place. This idea Geheeb has now deliberately incorporated in the School of Humanity. "Nothing would please me more," he once said, "than to have a half-a-dozen Chinese children, a number of Hindu youngsters, as well as pupils from all over the world in my school." In Geheeb's new venture all cultures and civilizations are to be represented not only in the student body but also in the teaching staff. All these cultures are to contribute to the furtherance of international goodwill and understanding.

[8] In the fall of 1939 the school moved to Schwarzsee, Fribourg.

III

National Systems

A. England

1. Historical background

At first glance England's educational system seems haphazard and unplanned. Within its embrace there are public schools that are private; private schools with financial aid from the State; sectarian and nonsectarian schools; secondary schools with primary subjects; and primary schools with secondary school subjects. One perceives some Local Authorities with activities restricted to primary education and others completely free in the matter of setting whatever education they may offer. Curiously enough, the powers of the National Authority, unlike those of the French Ministry of National Education, include no right to prescribe curricula, methods or texts; and in the case of the Local Authorities there is again the same general loose relationship to the schools under their control.

a. National grants to education. The reason for this apparently helter-skelter scheme lies in the evolution of England's educational system and in that land's philosophy of government. Historically the English system came into being relatively late. While Prussia was beginning to outfit itself in the robes of a national system of education before the end of the eighteenth century, and while France was doing likewise under the direction

of the first Napoleon, it was not until 1833 that England started to make some kind of provision for national grants to education. The sum of twenty thousand pounds was then voted "in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of schoolhouses for the education of the poorer classes of Great Britain." At best, however, this was only a meager provision, a philanthropic gesture to help the more ambitious among the poor. Since, however, schoolhouses soon began to dot the land in increasing numbers, it was not long before the government was induced to convert its original grant into an annual one; and subsequently it was necessary to increase the amount.

b. School inspection. As always, when a government is moved to extract a subsidy from its till, England naturally became interested in the way its money was being spent. And thus it is not altogether a cause for wonder to note a rising demand for the supervision of these governmental grants. In the course of time various acts were passed tending to superintend parliamentary expenditures for the purpose of promoting public education. By 1839, however, public schools had not yet been established, the practice being to apportion national grants among organizations maintaining schools, such as the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. All grants were made dependent on governmental inspection. Somewhat along the midway mark of the nineteenth century an important stride towards a national system was taken with the establishment of an Education Department. This was to take charge of the work of the Committee of the Council whose vice-president was to be answerable to Commons in questions pertaining to education. In 1861 the much and hotly discussed payment-by-results system was introduced. Under this scheme, schools were to receive grants not ac-

cording to their real needs, but rather on the basis of their attainments, particularly as demonstrated by their pupils' individual success in the annual examinations in the three R's.

c. The Elementary Education Act of 1870. The cornerstone of the modern English elementary school was not laid until 1870 when Parliament passed its well-known Elementary Education Act. The extension of suffrage a few years before contributed in no small way to the passage of the bill. A product of many conflicting ideas, the Act authorized the election of school boards and the levying of local taxes to establish elementary schools in such cases where the number of such schools was deemed insufficient. The voters of the community might in such cases elect the school board to maintain the elementary school. These were known as "board" schools, and the local rates which partly supported them were to be equal to the government's grant. In contrast to the board schools were the "voluntary" schools, that is to say, the church schools. They, too, were to share in the government grants, but not in the local taxes. All governmental grants, moreover, were dependent on the reports of the government inspectors. Board schools could give only undenominational religious instruction. In addition all schools were required to put their religious instruction either at the beginning or end of the school session, so that any pupil whose parents might object to the kind of religious instruction being given could be withdrawn. It was the hope of the sponsors of the Act that education would now be "universal, gratuitous, compulsory." The Act, however, splendid though it was, had an Achilles heel. By permitting sectarian schools to receive governmental aid, the Act led to considerable

rivalry and competition between the board and voluntary schools.

d. Secondary education. In the course of these years the territory of secondary education was barely touched by the State. Indeed, unsupervised by the national government, the secondary schools were provided for mainly through private hands. Thrust under the revealing rays of surveys undertaken between 1861 and 1869, secondary education was shown to be grossly inadequate. However, when the suggestion for some sort of local and national control was made, it was roundly denounced as being just another attempt at governmental interference. And so, when Parliament legislated the Endowed School Acts in 1869, it offered only a feeble makeshift for what should have been a comprehensive reform. Failing to deal with secondary education as a whole, it provided for the appointment of a Board of Endowed School Commissioners who were to devise schemes for reorganizing the Endowed Schools. No Local Authorities were created and no provision was made for the supervision and examination of secondary schools. In 1874 the powers of the Endowed School Commissioners were transferred to another body, the Charity Commissioners, who continued to hold sway until 1900.

As might be expected, there was during all these years a growing demand for some sort of education above the primary level. In some instances this was met by the more efficient and ambitious boards with the establishment of the so-called higher primary schools. But in 1869 a new type of education was ushered in by the Technical Instruction Act. This made the county and county borough councils, established the year before, responsible for technical instruction. But this, interestingly enough,

was rather broadly defined as being the teaching of artistic and scientific principles applicable to industry and the special trades. But it failed to include the actual practice of such trades or industries. A year later the Local Taxation Act was embodied in the statute books, and by this provision technical instruction was to be aided by local taxes and governmental grants or the so-called "whisky money." The result of all this legislation proved a lusty boost not only for technical instruction, but for every realm of knowledge except Latin and Greek.

Plainly, a scheme which had developed so planlessly would in time tend to become a legislative hodge-podge with duplication and overlapping. Cognizant of this deplorable fact, the government in 1894 appointed a Royal Commission "to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organized system of secondary education in England." The commission was headed by the celebrated James Bryce, and in its membership of seventeen there were three women. Slightly more than a year later the commission reported, and for the first time in England's history an outline for a national system of education was offered. Among other things it recommended the creation of a Central Authority and Local Authorities, on which the local boards were to be represented and which had the power to levy rates and to aid secondary schools.

2. Administration of education

a. Central authority. (1) *Board of Education.* National control of English education is in the hands of the Board of Education, which was established by the Education Act of 1899. The Board's head, the President, is the Minister of Education. As his ministerial title sug-

gests, he is a member of the Cabinet. Upon his shoulders falls the responsibility for the actions of the Board. He is assisted in his work by a Parliamentary Secretary, who is usually a member of Parliament. The duties of the President of the Board and the Parliamentary Secretary are numerous enough. They annually present the educational budget to Parliament. As might be expected, they discuss educational policies and answer questions bearing on education. The Board of Education is in charge of school expenditures, and it also determines codes under which educational grants are to be paid.

But oddly enough, the Board is in reality only a theoretical creation, never, as a matter of fact, meeting as a body. To provide some continuity of policy there is a permanent staff connected with the Board. Upon this group falls chiefly the task of developing principles and policies, subject, naturally enough, to the approval of the President. While the Board can exert compulsory powers upon the Local Authorities only when the latter fail in any of their prescribed duties—and then only after a public hearing—yet by virtue of its grant and dispensing powers the Board is in a strategic position to effect some influence upon the local boards. Thus it may call upon the Local Authorities to submit schemes "for the progressive development and comprehensive organization of education." The Board, moreover, may require the Local Authorities to submit information and reports. One of the most important powers of the Board is its right to submit conditions under which grants shall be paid.

The Board also has the right to examine schools; to determine the adequacy of schoolhouses; to inquire as to the qualifications of teachers, the suitability of curricula and programs, the provision of medical inspection.

In general, one might say that the relation between the Board and the Local Authorities is somewhat akin to that of a working partnership, with the Board refraining from using its authority except in so far as fulfilling the requirements of the law and the distribution of grants. Certainly the Board does not have the same power and influence that is exercised by the central administrative authority in centralized France. Through its inspectors and its office staff the Board, except where routine requirements are involved, deals individually with each Local Authority.

In 1922 the Board of Education was departmentalized horizontally, based on a territorial division of the land. The result was to make each official responsible for all branches of education in his territory. Each official of the territorial divisions is responsible for conducting relations between the Board and the Local Authority. This may be through correspondence or personal conference. Through him, likewise, personal relations are effected between the Board and the local officials.

On some matters the Board shares control with other Ministries. In 1919, for example, the Ministry of Health was established. One of its tasks was the control of school medical inspection and treatment. But it was allowed to arrange with the Board to continue to practice its powers and duties in this realm as it had done ever since 1907. The Ministry of Health, through the exercise of duties formerly falling on the Local Government Board, controls the raising of loans for the purchase of buildings, equipment, for school sites, or for capital expenditures.

(2) *Office of Special Inquiries and Reports.* Maintained by the Board is an Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, which is charged with the task of collecting and

furnishing information on education at home and abroad. It also makes reports on special matters referred to it. The Office was launched in 1894 and many of its reports are of great value. The Office, incidentally, also is in charge of an excellent and extensive educational library; it assists in the exchange of teachers between England, the Dominions, and other lands; it helps the Colonial Office in selecting teachers for the Crown Colonies; acts as foreign correspondent for the Board; and advises alien visitors who wish to study in England.

(3) *Consultative Committee.* To advise the Board on "any matter referred to the Committee by the Board," a Consultative Committee was established by the Board of Education Act of 1899. Actually the Committee came into power a year later by Order in Council, and in 1920 it was reconstituted. The Committee is fairly large, with twenty-one members, at least two-thirds of whom must be qualified to represent the views of universities and other bodies interested in education. The President of the Board appoints the members of the Consultative Committee, seven of whom are retired every second year. The reason that prompted the creation of the Committee was the fear expressed by some at the time the Board was created that this body might become a bureaucratic organization. The Consultative Committee's powers, however, are only advisory; and the Board is not required to act on the Committee's reports. Some of these reports, it should be noted, have been of outstanding merit and real educational significance.

(4) *Other advisory committees.* Besides the Consultative Committee, there are several other committees giving advisory assistance to the Board. In the realm of juvenile delinquency there is the Juvenile Organization

Committee, launched in 1916. In the field of adult education the Board is advised by the Adult Education Committee, established in 1920. To advise the Board concerning the conduct and standards of examinations of secondary schools, the Secondary Schools Examinations Council was organized in 1917. With the relaxation of the Board's control over the training of teachers, a Central Advisory Committee for the Certification of Teachers was created in 1929. Besides these bodies there are, of course, others; the Board, for example, appoints Departmental Committees and Inter-Departmental Committees for the purpose of studying and reporting on special educational problems. Some of the matters considered by such committees have dealt with *The Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools, Organization of Secondary Education in England and Wales,* and *Scholarships and Free Places.*

(5) *Inspectorial staff.* The inspectorial staff is made up of three chief inspectors for elementary, secondary, and technical education. Of these, one is the senior chief inspector, and he is responsble for the entire staff of inspectors. Inspectors are appointed by Order in Council on the advice of the President of the Board acting on the recommendation of a selecting committee. Interestingly enough, the precise qualifications of the candidate are not defined. General routine inspections are not as frequent as in bygone days. A "full" inspection of secondary schools occurs once in seven years; in the elementary schools, visits take place once in every three years. To keep abreast of the educational conditions in their territory inspectors consult and confer with teachers. The old autocratic and inquisitorial type of inspection has gone into the discard. Today the function of inspection is not so much to criticize as to advise, guide, and en-

courage the school man, so that, in the end, education in all its aspects may benefit.

b. Local Authority. (1) *Local areas.* Local administration of education was organized by the Education Act of 1902, and for London by the Act of 1903. By virtue of these laws the existing local governmental areas —counties, county boroughs, municipal boroughs, and urban districts—were set up as the units for educational administration. These areas, of course, are not at all equal in size or population. London with its surrounding area, for example, has been organized as a county. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, both large counties, have been subdivided. Altogether there are 62 counties, 83 county boroughs, 131 municipal boroughs, and 40 urban districts. These, together with the London County Council, make a total of 317 Local Authorities in education.

(2) *Kinds of Local Authority.* There are two kinds of Local Authority: one having powers and duties only in elementary education; and the other being concerned with all the branches of education and the related social services. The powers and duties of these bodies were defined by the Education Act of 1902, by virtue of which the first type of authority became known as "Part III Authorities," and the second as "Part II Authorities."

(3) *Education committees.* There is in each area an elected council for the conduct of local government. To facilitate the conduct of business every council is divided into various committees, and all matters pertaining to education—with the significant exception of the raising of rates or borrowing money—must be referred to an education committee. These committees are picked in several ways. Thus in some localities the members are appointed by the mayor. Sometimes they are chosen by ballot; and sometimes the membership is determined

on the basis of proportional representation of the constituent parties. It should be noted, incidentally, that council members are elected on a general platform in which education is not an issue. It happens—frequently enough—that the elected councilors are not too familiar with the problems involved in education. For this reason, education committees must in addition elect councilors, who must constitute a majority, to include women, and provide for the appointment, by the council, of persons experienced in education and privy to the educational problems confronting the schools in the area. Such members are known as "co-opted members," and they have the same duties, powers, privileges, and obligations as the elected members of the committee. The committees vary in size from five to fifty.

(4) *General duties of the Local Authorities.* All Local Authorities must maintain within their areas an efficient public elementary school. They have control of all expenditures needed for that purpose except such "as is left to managers of nonprovided schools." Under this requirement comes the regulation of school attendance, including the right to compel parents to provide an efficient education for their children, the provision of medical inspection and treatment, the institution of practical and advanced instruction, provision for the education of blind and deaf children and defectives. In the non-provided schools the Local Authorities are responsible for secular instruction. The Local Authorities may provide nursery schools, playgrounds, vacation schools, camps, meals for needy children, and transportation, and they may make provision for the children's social and physical training.

In the counties and county boroughs, the Local Authorities concerned with higher education must "con-

sider the educational needs of their areas and take such steps as seem to them desirable after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of higher education, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education." In 1918 the Local Authorities thus concerned were given permission "to spend such sums as they see fit" for that purpose. Non-county boroughs and urban districts are restricted in the amount of rate they may raise for higher education, though they have the same powers otherwise as the counties and county boroughs. Because of these provisions the authorities are in a position to establish any type of education other than elementary; they may train teachers; offer scholarships; make grants to universities; and provide for higher education outside their area where they deem such provision to be desirable.

(5) *Managers.* Every Local Authority must appoint a body of managers for each school, or group of schools, in its area. The size of the managerial body varies from four in the larger areas to two in the smaller ones. The requirement, moreover, applies to those schools that are provided by the authority. For the non-provided, or denominational schools, the body of managers is made up of the foundation managers or trustees and the representatives of the education authorities. The managers have no financial control beyond that of purely voluntary funds for definite purposes. Their powers, in fact, are advisory. However, they have the right to visit the schools and to examine the records. They are expected to make suggestions about such matters as alterations and enlargements of the school premises, sanitary conditions, equipment, and the like. They may advise on the appointment of teachers. In non-provided schools they may make appointments, subject to the approval

of the authority with respect to the teacher's qualifications to give lay instruction. Complaints against teachers may be examined by them, and they may make recommendations to the authority as to the action to be taken, though, of course, the authority is not bound to follow such recommendations. At bottom, the managers act as a *liaison* body between the school and the committee on the one hand and the school and the public on the other.

(6) *Care committees.* A few areas have developed what are known as "care committees," to help in the welfare activities connected with the schools. On the whole their functions bear some resemblance to those of visiting teachers and social workers in the United States. Thus the workers on these committees are expected to give guidance to parents in matters relating to their children's welfare. They are expected to study the home conditions of the pupils in the elementary schools. In some instances they have established recreation centers, clubs, and vacation schools. They also advise on the choice of vocation.

(7) *Consultative committees.* To obtain the co-operation of teachers, special committees have been organized in many areas. In some areas, what are known as "consultative committees" have been created for this purpose. As is to be expected, the nature of these committees varies. They are expected to stimulate the exchange of educational ideas among teachers; to act in a general advisory capacity to teachers, managers, and the education committee; and to confer with government inspectors. They also nominate candidates to act as examiners for county minor scholarships in their districts.

(8) *Director of education.* In each area there is an administrator, commonly known as director of education,

but sometimes as chief education officer, secretary, or clerk. The requirements for this office are not precisely defined. However, the director of education is always a university graduate who has served as teacher, principal, or inspector. The post is important, and vacancies for it are advertised. A list of suitable candidates is drawn up after their qualifications have been scrutinized by a subcommittee. There is no tenure of office, appointments being made and held at the pleasure of the Local Authority. The director is responsible for finance, buildings, and equipment. Besides these business duties, he must also be an educator capable of inspiring confidence in the school men. It is also his duty to prepare the business to be considered by the education committee and its subcommittees. In general it is probably no overstatement to say that the strength and success of an educational system is determined by the director's ability and efficiency.

(9) *Educational finance.* The financial support of education is shared almost equally by the Central and the Local Authorities. For its educational funds the former depends chiefly on income tax, customs, excise, death duties, and indirect taxation. The latter raise their funds from rates or local taxes on real property, licenses, fines, etc., from income from property, trading profits, fees, etc., and subsidies from the Government. The national budget for education is made up yearly and presented by the President of the Board of Parliament. In the local areas the educational budget is generally made up by the education committee, submitted to the finance committee of the local council, and passed by the council. Out of the appropriations approved by Parliament, grants are made for the maintenance of the Board, and for distribution among the local and other

school authorities, as well as for teachers' pensions. For agricultural education, grants are made by the Ministry of Agriculture; for the education of delinquent or neglected children by the Home Office. Grants to universities come from the Treasury.

3. Elementary education

a. Provision of schools. The Education Act of 1902 continued the "provided" and the "non-provided" elementary schools, but placed them under one Local Authority. The essential difference between these two types of schools is that the buildings of the former are built and maintained entirely by the education authority; while in the case of the "non-provided" schools, the buildings are the property of the board of trustees, who rent them to the education authority. The trustees, moreover, are accorded certain rights in the matter of appointing teachers, with particular regard for their ability to impart religious instruction. Both "provided" and "non-provided" schools are a regular part of the public system of elementary education, and the Local Authorities are responsible for their maintenance.

b. Private schools. In addition to the regular public elementary schools there are, as in the United States, a large number of private schools. The precise number of children attending such schools is not known; but it was estimated in 1931 that some 350,000 children between the ages of six and fourteen are taught at home or in private schools.

c. Compulsory school attendance. By the Education Act of 1921 parents are responsible for the education of their children of not less than five nor more than fourteen years of age. While the law permits some reasonable exceptions, still it requires compulsory education;

and this requirement may be met by (1) attendance at any school, or (2) instruction at home, provided such instruction is efficient. By the stipulations of the Fisher Act of 1918 a child may no longer leave school on his fourteenth birthday, but must continue to the end of the term. In addition Local Authorities were permitted by the Act to extend compulsory education to fifteen or sixteen years with the approval of the Board. The enforcement of compulsory attendance is in the hands of the Local Authority. On the whole, school attendance is quite high, in 1930–1931 the percentage of attendance for England and Wales averaging 89 per cent.

d. **Organization.** Except for the infant school, the English elementary school shows in its organization a startling lack of uniformity. In fact, even where schools are under the same authority there is frequently no uniformity of organization. Thus in some schools, boys and girls from seven to fourteen may be in separate departments; in others those aged from seven to eleven may be in junior mixed departments, and continue in senior mixed departments for the next three years. In other schools they may start off the same way in junior mixed departments, and then be segregated for the last three years in departments for senior boys or senior girls. "The mixed school for boys and girls is the exception rather than the rule in large towns. It is much more common in the smaller towns—in many it is characteristic, and is the rule in rural parts."[1] The Board of Education, in some of its handbooks for teachers in the elementary schools, bases its material on four stages of school life: (1) the nursery stage for children aged three

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[1] Wilson, J. Dover, editor, *The Schools of England,* Sidgwick and Jackson, 1928, p. 46.

to five; (2) the infant stage for children from five to about eight; (3) the junior stage up to the age of eleven and somewhat beyond; (4) the senior stage, including the last three years of school.[2]

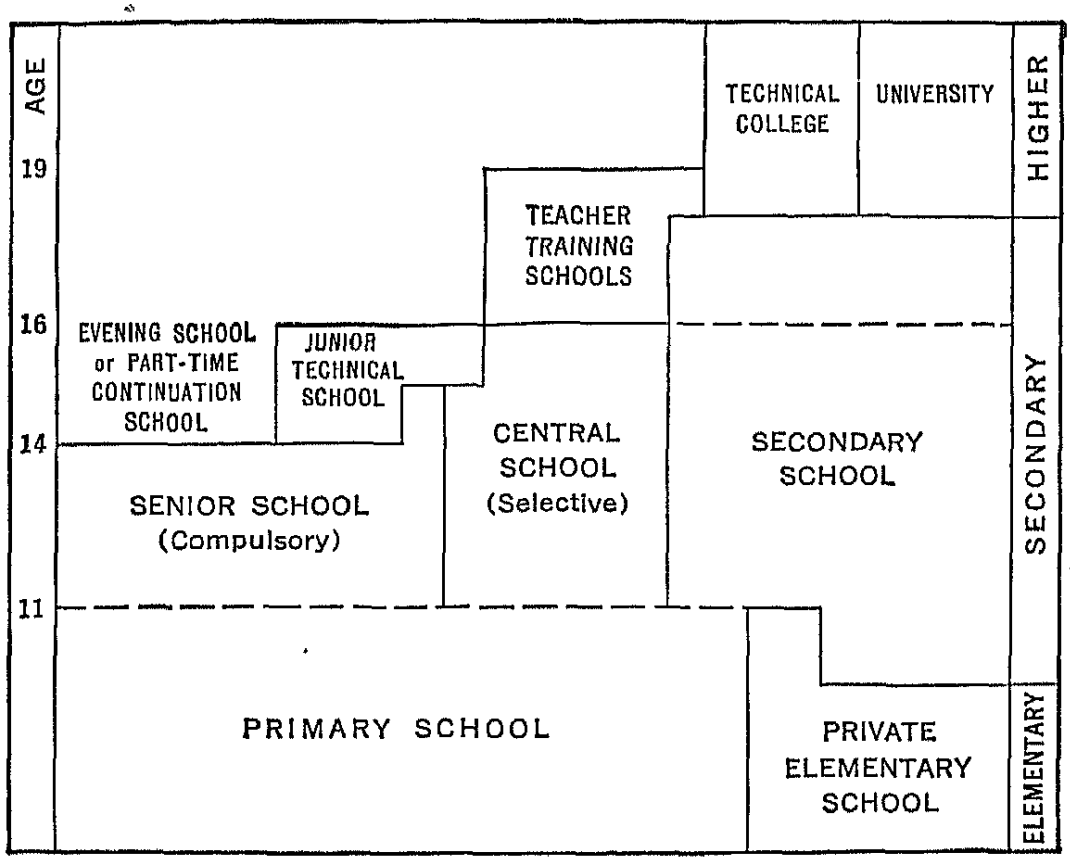


Fig. 3. The Schools of England. (From *Education in a Democracy*, by Myers and Williams. Copyright by Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1937.)

e. **Infant and nursery schools.** The education of young children in England dates back to the early nineteenth century when Robert Owen launched a school "where children from two to six years of age were to dance and sing, to be out of doors as much as possible, to learn when their curiosity induced them to ask questions,

[2] See *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools.*

and not to be annoyed with books." Owen's ideal, unfortunately, was not generally realized, and up to 1870 the provision made for the education of young children was not very much. The opening of kindergartens and the influence of Froebel injected some progressive juices into the movement. Early in the twentieth century (1905) the Board published a *Report on children under five,* wherein it made definite recommendations for the education of young children. What it "sought was a new school . . . . for poor children," a place where "there should be more play, more sleep, more free conversation, story-telling, and observation." The Board's hope, however, was realized only very slowly. Under the influence of Montessori the education of young children received new attention. Another recent influence contributing to the development of a more progressive education in the early stages of a child's life and growth was the development of the Nursery School Movement.

By the Education Act of 1918 local education authorities were empowered to establish day nurseries for infants ranging in age from one month to three years; and nursery schools for children from two to five years old. For mothers who had to go to work such nurseries were a great boon. Half the cost of these institutions was to be borne by subsidies from the Board of Education. Unfortunately, the adverse economic conditions following the World War have seriously interfered with the development of these schools on any large scale. Briefly stated, the aim of this early education is to provide for the young child's healthy and active growth. Most nursery schools are of the open-air type. The children spend the whole day in school. There is regular medical inspection, with records of the child's physical growth and development. Some schools also watch the

child's complete growth, keeping records of his intelligence, skills, conduct, etc. Children are fed, parents contributing what they can. On the whole the work of the nursery school focuses on the development of good habits. There are bathing, washing, dressing, social activities in preparing for meals, and the like. Considerable time, of course, is given to play and games. Sense training is stressed as well as the development of good habits of speech. Besides nursery schools there are also nursery classes. Unlike the former, the latter are part of the existing infant schools. Nursery classes usually take care of children for a shorter day than the nursery schools. Their work, however, is similar on the whole to that of the nursery school. Nursery classes have developed somewhat more rapidly than the nursery schools. Manchester for quite a while has been a leader in the development of the nursery class, having something like fifty such classes. In the latest infant schools Manchester has been building a special wing for its nursery classes. This has a southern exposure, and is open-air in type, with its own entrance, garden and playground, rooms for play, rest, and meals, a kitchen, and bathrooms.

As has already been indicated, the infant school has undergone a great and progressive transformation. Once stressing the acquisition of the three R's, the best infant school of today no longer lays its main stress on subject matter, but rather on activities and experiences from which these fundamentals subsequently develop. Freedom and spontaneity are present. There are games and play, storytelling and conversation, training in speech, nature study, drawing, music, dancing, manual work, and nature study. Once more the influence of Montessori is perceptible. And just as the kindergarten

has helped to influence the work of the early years of American elementary education, in like manner the methods of the infant school are affecting the work of the early years of the English elementary school.

f. **The elementary school.** In the Annual *Code,* issued by the Board of Education from 1904 to 1926, the Board asserted that "the purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life." The stress is on character-development, with all its implications for an all-round growth of body, mind, and spirit. At bottom a liberal education is sought. In this respect the twentieth-century English elementary school stands out in sharp contrast to its nineteenth-century predecessor with its payment-by-results and annual examinations of every pupil. In contrast to the modern school's liberal education, the old elementary school stressed the thorough mastery of a few subjects. While the old school did not minimize the importance of character-formation, its procedures in this domain concentrated on extra-curricular activities. Today greater recognition is given to the important contributions made in this respect from the actual content of instruction and the curriculum itself. With the newer conceptions of liberty in the elementary school, discipline has been noticeably influenced. As Chief Inspector of Schools in the Education Department of the London County Council, Dr. F. L. Spencer declared that he was struck in visiting the schools

> . . . . not merely by the changes in teaching methods and curriculum . . . . but more than all, by the greater ease of discipline;

by the fact that the relation between teacher and taught, once almost a condition of enmity, was now in the normal case, one of a friendly co-operation; and further by the almost uniform courtesy of the boys and girls Discipline is as good as ever it was, but is achieved by vastly better methods.[3]

Unlike the French elementary school, that of England does not have its curriculum determined by the National Authority. In fact, the Board of Education has steadfastly declined to prescribe the curriculum, preferring to lay down general suggestions rather than precise requirements. In the *Suggestions,* for example, the Board has declared that "it is not possible to lay down the exact number of the subjects which should be in an individual school. The choice, indeed, cannot be in practice absolutely free. It is in part determined by public opinion as expressing the needs of the community. . . . ."[4] The subjects ordinarily taught in the elementary school are religious instruction, English, writing, arithmetic, drawing and modeling, nature study, geography, history, singing and music, physical training and hygiene, manual work, and household subjects, including needlework, cooking, laundry work, and household management. There is also instruction in morals, but this branch is not commonly taught as a separate subject. The only subject wherein the Board requires its syllabus to be followed is physical training; and even here a Local Authority could employ its own syllabus, provided, of course, it has been approved by the inspectors.

Regarding religious instruction, this is given in all schools, but in the provided schools it is regulated by the

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[3] Wilson, J. Dover, editor, *The Schools of England,* Sidgwick and Jackson, 1928, p 53 f.

[4] *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools,* London, 1927, p. 38.

Education Act of 1870 (Cowper-Temple Clause) which stipulates that "no religious catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." Applying this yardstick in practice, this has meant that the Bible could be read, but without comment. In addition there are included the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. Religious instruction is generally given the first period of the day, usually for thirty minutes. Under the so-called conscience clause of the Education Act, parents may have their children excused from religious instruction. In the non-provided schools religious instruction is, of course, sectarian. Usually it is given by teachers who have been selected because of their particular religious connection. The Board's inspectors do not supervise religious instruction. However, in the non-provided schools it may be supervised by the manager, or the school's trustees, and frequently by a minister of the particular denomination in question.

Since the Board does not insist on curricular prescriptions, the Local Authority has considerable leeway in determining what is to be taught. Such a situation has the great advantage of allowing for freedom and elasticity, by which it is possible to adjust the school to the local needs and environment. Moreover, such a system is not static. Courses of study, as a matter of fact, are seldom printed; sometimes they are typewritten, more frequently they are written out by hand. Under such a scheme, too, experimentation is possible. In its *Report on the Primary School* the Consultative Committee, for example, suggested an integrated curriculum for the early years of the child's schooling. Unlike the French, the English are inclined to be eclectic and pragmatic in their methods of teaching: there is no one best method, the desirable

SUBJECT TIME-ANALYSIS IN MINUTES FOR ONE WEEK OF A FOUR-YEAR COURSE IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL FOR BOYS, A SECONDARY SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, A CENTRAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS, AND A CENTRAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS [5]

Boys

Subject	First Year		Second Year		Third Year			Fourth Year		
						C.			C.	
	S.	C.	S	C.	S.	Tech.	Com.	S.	Tech.	Com.
English	225	385	180	345	180	335	340	180	285	335
History	135	120	90	90	90	90	100	135	90	100
Geography	135	120	90	90	90	100	110	90	100	100
Mathematics	270	385	270	320	270	420	330	315	315	315
Science	90	140	135	160	270	220	.	270	220	...
Languages	270	105	450	130	450	...	195	450	..	205
Commercial subjects	...	..	..	...	...		320	.	..	350
Handicraft	135	. .	90	120	...	150		.	240	..
Drawing	90	90	90	120	90	120	..	..	195	..
Music	90	60	45	65	..	..	.	..	.	..
Scripture	45	60	45	60	45	60	60	45	60	60
Physical training	90	60	90	60	90	60	60	90	60	50
Recreation, preparation, prayers, school opening	75	125	75	90	75	95	135	75	85	135
Total in minutes per week.	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650

GIRLS

SUBJECT	First Year		Second Year		Third Year			Fourth Year		
						C.			C.	
	S.	C.	S.	C	S.	Gen'l	Com	S.	Gen'l	Com.
English	320	345	160	300	160	375	345	120	285	285
History	80	80	80	80	80	120	90	80	90	90
Geography	80	90	80	80	40	120	90	80	140	140
Mathematics	160	285	200	280	200	310	330	240	350	260
Science	80	80	80	135	160	90	80	200	140	...
								or		
								120		
Languages	200	185	160	180	160	210	180	320	190	190
			or		or			or		
			320		320			160		
Commercial subjects	..	...	...	...	.	..	250	.		400
Handicraft (domestic)	80	220	240	230	240	80	..	..	110	...
			or		or			or		
			80		80			240		
Drawing	80	80	80	80	80	60	. .	80	60	...
Music	40	65	40	65	40	65	65	40	65	65
Scripture	80	60	80	60	40	60	60	40	60	60
Physical training	160	60	160	60	160	60	60	160	60	60
Recreation, preparation, prayers, school opening	290	100	290	100	290	100	100	290	100	100
Total in minutes per week	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1,650	1 650	1,650	1,650	1.650	1,650

[5] From a *Report on Education in Other Lands,* by James McRae, M A , Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, p 27. Published by the Education Department, Victoria.

method being the one which leads to the best results.

While English elementary education is characterized by considerable liberty, there are nonetheless some controls. Through its publications, lectures, conferences, and courses, the Board exerts a certain influence in setting up educational aims and ideals. Another controlling force is the system of inspection, which though not at all dictatorial, tends to unify standards. While outside examinations for elementary school children are not encouraged, to select eleven-year-old children for transfer to central or secondary schools, examinations are held. In some places all eleven-year-olds must take this examination; in others only those recommended by their teachers. At any rate the results of the examination, after all its shortcomings have been discounted, tend to indicate a standard of attainment. A more subtle control, but nonetheless perceptible, is the force of public opinion, which, for good or bad, demands certain results from its schools.

g. **Intermediate education.** (1) *Historical backgrounds.* As has been said before, the Education Act of 1870 stimulated the development of elementary education. Because of the lack of secondary schools, and to meet the needs of those pupils who continued to stay in school up to fourteen or fifteen, a higher grade and an advanced elementary school were established. With the creation of secondary education at public expense as a result of the Education Act of 1902, the need for advanced elementary education did not vanish. However, since these schools were required to be of a "predominantly scientific type," they were not altogether satisfactory in meeting the diverse requirements of those boys and girls who could remain in school up to the age of fifteen. In 1910 the London County Council began to establish what were known as "central schools," which offered a four-

TIME-SCHEDULE OF A MIXED SELECTIVE CENTRAL SCHOOL IN A RURAL AREA

Subjects	IV A min.	IV B min.	III A min.	III B min.	II A min.	II B min.	I A min.	I B min.
English	210	210	210	210	245	245	245	245
History	105	105	70	70	70	70	70	70
Geography	105	70	105	70	105	105	105	105
French	175	...	175	...	175	175	175	175
Mathematics	175	245	210* / 175	245	210	245** / 210	210	210
Needlework (girls)	70	140	70	140	70	70	70	70
Mechanical drawing (boys)	...	70	...	140	70	70	70	70
Mechanical drawing (girls)	...	...	...	..	...	...	35	35
Surveying	...	70	...	..	...	...	...	...
Science (boys)	70	210	140* / 70	210	140	140	140	140
Science (girls)	...	140	..	140	140	140	105	105
Art (boys)	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Art (girls)	70	140	70	140	70	70	70	70
Handicraft	140	210	140	210	140	140	140	140
Housecraft	140	210	140	210	140	140	140	140
Commercial	175	..	175	...	..	...	..	...
Music	35	35	70	70	70	70	70	70
Physical training	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Games	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Gardening	...	..	140*	...	...	140**	..	...
Private study	70	..	70		..	.	.	.

* These are boys who will not be completing a full Form III course and who may be taking up Farm Service. Instead of French and part of the commercial course they take gardening and extra periods in mathematics devoted to rural problems; they study bookkeeping and have extra science.

** These are boys who are judged unable to profit by a study of French; they, therefore, take up school gardening and extra mathematics.

year course to children selected from the elementary school at about the age of eleven. A number of other authorities, notably Manchester and Bradford, followed the London innovation. The Education Act of 1918 required advanced instruction and practical work in the last stage of the elementary school, and this requirement tended to stimulate the development of a number of experiments. The result was that in time a number of types of organization had come into being. There were, for example, the selective central school, the non-selective central school, the partially selective central school, higher tops and senior standard departments, and various combinations of these.

(2) *Central schools.* The central schools cater to those children who are able to continue their schooling for four years beyond the age of eleven. These children are selected on the basis of an examination. At bottom, the central school is intended for practical-minded boys and girls rather than for the academic type. It is this difference, in the main, that marks the distinction between the secondary and the central school. As has already been suggested, the London central schools became the model for others. The work of the first two years at London includes English, algebra, geometry, science, history, geography, art, music, handwork, needlework, and domestic science. French is offered particularly to those pupils who expect to go into the commercial course of the last two years. The second part of the course becomes somewhat more practical, with leanings to the commercial, industrial, or domestic subjects. Some central schools also continue the general course for the last two years.

(3) *Senior schools.* The senior school may be simply the senior division of an elementary school with its own

organization, or it may be a separate institution. Pupils are usually transferred to the senior school on the basis of age rather than for their academic achievements. Intended for pupils who have failed in examination to gain free admission to a selective senior or central school or to a secondary school, the senior school is non-selective. On the whole the senior school continues the work of the primary school, adding such practical work as suited to the particular needs of the locality.

h. **The Fisher Act of 1918.** On January 14, 1918, the President of the Board of Education, H. A. L. Fisher, introduced a bill in Parliament for educational reform on a wide scale, and before the end of the year this was to be enacted as the Education Act of 1918. More often, however, it is simply referred to as the Fisher Act.

Divided into five main parts, the Fisher Act completely reorganized English education, putting it on a much firmer national basis—but mindful at the same time of England's strong attachment to local liberty. Initiative on the part of the Local Authorities was generally invited. The act was framed with "a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available to all persons capable of profiting thereby." It was the first of England's various educational acts wherein public provision is not almost wholly restricted to the education of minors. The Act strove to equalize opportunity for all children regardless of social, economic or religious status. It did not, however, deal with university education as such. Yet, in the words of the Rt. Hon. J. Herbert Lewis, "it removes the poverty bar and opens a highway for all classes right up to the university." Provision was made for the establishment of nursery schools for children under five. School attendance became compulsory at five and continued up to fourteen; but this might be extended by

the Local Authority for another year. Compulsory attendance beyond fifteen, however, was not sanctioned. However, children might stay in an elementary school up to and beyond sixteen if adequate provision were made for advanced instruction. Attendance at a private school was not accepted by the authorities unless such a school was open to inspection. A child might no longer quit school on the very day he became fourteen, but had to continue his attendance until the end of the term. The avenue to higher education was broadened. Not only was the number of scholarships increased, but the Board of Education also made provision for the maintenance of needy students. Up to the age of eighteen a child was required to attend continuation school. However, for the first seven years of the new law's operation, at the discretion of the Local Authority, children were required to attend a continuation school only up to sixteen for 280 hours a year. The responsibility for such type of education was placed on the Local Authority, which was allowed, however, to co-operate with another Local Authority, with employers, or with other voluntary agencies. The Local Authority was required to submit to the Board its proposed scheme for the administration of continuation schools. In lieu of attendance at the continuation school, attendance at any other educational institution requiring high attendance was accepted. The most wholesome feature of the compulsory-continuation-school clauses of the Act of 1918 was the fact that the realization of the necessity for such education seemed at last to have dawned in England. That the young wage-earner might be made more efficient and more capable is of secondary importance. The most important service rendered by the compulsory continuation school was that it provided a means of oversight and control over youth

passing through one of the most critical periods of life. The Fisher Act also totally abolished child labor up to the age of twelve, and partially up to fourteen. The so-called half-time system, whereby a child spent only half of the required time at school, was completely wiped out. Interesting to note is the fact that medical attention in the schools was radically extended. It was to include secondary schools, continuation schools, and such educational institutions as are provided by Local Authorities. With the approval of the Board, Local Authorities were privileged to support or maintain camps, gymnasiums, playgrounds, open-air schools, gardens, baths, and swimming pools. Special attention was to be given to the child's health and hygiene. Provisions were made for the proper education of the physically and mentally handicapped. Concerning the matter of school inspection, all schools were required to furnish specific information about their organization and any other particulars specified by the regulations of the Board of Education. Finally, the Board agreed to pay as much as one-half the cost of any object which in its opinion was worthy of such monetary assistance. The grant of national aid, as has been indicated, is, of course, a typical English device.

i. **Retrenchment.** Though the Fisher Act met with the approval of progressive school men throughout the world, in its actual enforcement it soon struck a flock of snags. Economic conditions in postwar England, as everyone knows, were bad, and without money enforcement of the Fisher Act would have been next to miraculous. Budgets were cut sharply and, as usual, education came in for more than a generous share of economy. The result was that many of the more advanced requirements of the Fisher Act were discarded. The development of the nursery schools, for example, has been drastically curtailed.

The compulsory day continuation schools, which by many were held as one of the most significant creations of the whole Act, soon went down to nothing. In their stead voluntary continuation schools arose, and these attracted quite a number of pupils. Despite these setbacks, however, some advances must be chronicled. Half-time is no more. Whole or partial exemption from school attendance has virtually stopped. A child can no longer quit school the moment he passes beyond the compulsory age. All children must now attend school at least up to the age of fourteen. Child labor, while still in furtive existence here and there, has none the less been driven to the wall, and gradually it seems to be coming to its end. Hygienic and medical facilities have been extended on a grand scale. The English secondary schools report progress with increasing enrollments. Likewise, the number of scholarships in the secondary schools are more numerous.

j. **The Hadow Report.** In 1924 the Board of Education appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow "to consider and report upon the organization, objective and curricula of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools other than secondary schools, up to the age of fifteen." Two years later the committee's report—*The Education of the Adolescent*—appeared. The Hadow Report favored (1) the expansion and enrichment of the upper years of the elementary school, that is, the years beyond eleven; (2) the development of senior schools of a less academic nature than the regular secondary schools; (3) the inclusion of commercial, industrial, agricultural, and domestic instruction as well as work in mathematics, science and a modern language, besides the subjects begun in the lower years. Something like 75,000 children, it is estimated, annually enter the secondary schools from the

elementary schools, and as has been noted, this number is increasing. However, free secondary education, in the American sense at any rate, is still far from general.

B. France

1. Historical background

a. The early nineteenth century. Practically down to the outburst of the first revolution in 1789, French education was dominated by a religious motive and was in the hands of the clergy. Between 1792 and 1795 the National Convention secularized the church schools, confiscating their property, and at the same time considering the creation of a secular and national educational system. However, aside from the establishment of the Normal School and the Polytechnic School at Paris in 1793, relatively little was done. Napoleon concentrated mainly on secondary and higher education, reorganizing the secondary and higher schools and abolishing the independence of the universities, transforming them, with the exception of those in Paris, into groups of faculties whose main job was the granting of degrees. In 1806 he founded the so-called University of France, which was not a teaching body at all, but a corporate and state-controlled body of all secondary and higher institutions of learning. At the same time he divided the French nation into administrative "academies," each with a rector and administrative council, having supervision over its work.

b. Guizot's Law of 1833. As has been suggested, Napoleon was interested chiefly in secondary and higher education. In the domain of elementary education he did nothing. In fact, the Church was allowed to re-assume its former control, with special concessions being made to the Christian Brothers, whose schools had been

shut down by the Revolutionists in 1792. Just before the second revolution broke out in 1830, elementary education was almost under the complete control of the teaching congregations. Meanwhile, the secondary schools had continued virtually unchanged. Under the new monarchy—the July monarchy—however, certain important changes were introduced. Under the influence of Guizot, the first Minister of Public Instruction in the new regime, the foundation of a national system of education was laid. This came through the enactment of the Law of 1833 which established a system of elementary schools of two grades, primary and higher primary, the former to be established in every commune, and the latter in the larger communes. Partially supported by fees, the schools, however, were to get grants from the communes and the State, and in addition were to admit the children of the poor without cost. Furthermore, provision was made for freedom in religious instruction. In addition teachers were to be certified and appointed by the State. To provide for an adequate supply of properly trained teachers thirty normal schools were created. As a result of the Law of 1833 the number of elementary schools, as well as the number of pupils attending them, increased considerably. Unfortunately, under the Second Empire reaction set in, due in large part to Napoleon's eagerness to gain the support of the Church, with the result that the extension of the public elementary school slumped badly. At the same time the clergy was able to regain some of its lost power.

c. The Third Republic. After Napoleon's downfall, France concentrated on the immense task of clearing away the debris. During the first decade of its existence the Third Republic overhauled and renovated the French schools. Under the leadership of Gambetta it sought to

create the basis of a system of universal education. Education gradually became a national enterprise, and to make it function, millions of francs were dispensed for the establishment of school buildings and equipment and the launching of technical and manual schools. It was not until 1881, however, that primary instruction was at last made completely free. One year later it was made compulsory for children between the ages of six and thirteen. To make available the teachers required by this increase in the schools, every *département* (county) was required to provide a normal school for teachers of each sex. A much more difficult task for the Third Republic to solve was the matter of school secularization. Here progress was slow but steady. In 1881 all teachers were required to have a license from the State. Five years later members of the clergy were forbidden to teach in the public schools. The heaviest blow fell in 1904 when the teaching congregations were suppressed. Thus, slightly more than a century after the French Revolution, France in its educational scheme had finally succumbed to the revolutionary ideals of a free, compulsory, and secularized system of schooling.

2. Organization

a. Centralization. What strikes the eye at once when it looks over the French school system is the remarkable way in which it is centralized. As usual, considerable history lies behind the present setup. As a principle, centralization came into being in the seventeenth century in the reign of Louis XIV, who, besides proclaiming his legs the most beautiful in all France, also is alleged to have announced the king to be the State. Under this seventeenth-century *duce* and his Bourbon successors, centralized authority was state monopolistic, looking

upon itself as the wellspring of all power. The Revolution, too, accepted the doctrine of centralization, but sought through it to safeguard the rights of the individual. The first Napoleon put the final stamp on the Bourbon and Revolutionary concepts of centralization, welding them into a working administrative machine, one which in its essentials has persisted to this day.

That the governmental functions of twentieth-century France should be wrapped by the cords of centralization is because of several reasons. Nursed and raised on the ideal of setting up a united front against all disruptive forces, the Third Republic has always been on the alert for national unity and solidarity. Thus the republic must ever be kept secure against any possible threat from the outlands; at the same time it must stand on guard against those divisive elements which lurk within the national confines. Where the State's authority is weak or impotent, there is painly no assurance of positive security. And so centralization has been used as a device to control and check those hostile forces, national and alien, which might imperil French unity.

What constitutes the fundamental basis of French solidarity is, of course, subject to question. Educationally, however, the State has always assumed national unity to be rooted in the national language. The general idea seems to be that "French genius expresses itself in only one language—French." Whenever regionalists have taken up their clubs to fight for another language in the primary schools as, for example that of Brittany or the Provence—tongues spoken by millions every day—they have always been forced to submit to the hard opposition of the central government. Any concession to such regionalistic pleas is howled down as a menace to precious French solidarity. Besides the national idiom and lit-

erature there are, of course, some other cultural items that are expected to be shared by all Frenchmen. Thus every Frenchman is expected to be familiar with his land's geography and history. To be a good citizen he must be cognizant of the essentials in morals and civics. And all this instruction—public or private—the State defines, prescribes, and controls.

Behind the survival of centralization lies still another factor. Ever since the Capetians molded Paris into the capital of France, the city has been in a very real sense the political, economic, and cultural hub of the nation. Paris today is not only the largest city of the republic; it is also the richest and the most active. For ages Paris has been an immense magnet, pulling into the city's confines countless eager and hopeful Frenchmen. What Paris thinks and does serves in a large way as a model for the rest of the country. Despite the local pride of the regionalist—a pride which is vast and undeniable—his eyes, in the end, will turn in the direction of Paris.

Then, too, the fact that centralization has been in vogue for centuries is in itself significant. Applying a simple pragmatic yardstick, the French are generally inclined to be satisfied with the scheme, which, having always worked in the past, is deemed as probably the best for their particular needs. Individualist though he be, the Frenchman seems to prefer to put his faith in the controlled administrative machinery of the State, rather than in the heterogeneous possibilities which might emanate from the local government of ninety *départements* and 38,000 communes.

b. The Ministry of National Education. At the head of the French educational organization stands the Ministry of National Education, which up to a few years ago was known as the Ministry of Public Instruction and

Fine Arts. Emphatically administrative in its function, the Ministry has jurisdiction over all the schools, public as well as private. Casting its administrative spell even into Algeria, the Ministry has the right to inspect and supervise teachers. Through the Under-Secretariat of State, moreover, the Ministry directs numerous vocational schools, though in a number of instances other Ministries, such as those of Agriculture, Colonies, Commerce, Public Works, War and Marine, are entrusted with jurisdiction.

Appointed by the Premier with the approval of the President of the Republic, the Minister of National Education is usually a political supporter of the Premier. It happens, now and then, though very rarely, that a Minister is not a member of either the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate. In such cases he cannot vote in Parliament, but may be present at discussions. Indeed, should either house so request, he must be present to answer questions. Such a Minister has legislative powers to the extent that he is able to influence his fellow Ministers in the formulation of the governmental policy before Parliament. Politically, the post of Minister of National Education is not deemed important, and ordinarily the office is bestowed on someone who has indicated some degree of interest and ability in educational matters.

While the Ministry of National Education may have no high political luster, in the acres of education it is a significant post. In fact, the Minister is a very busy man, charged as he is with the direction of all the establishments and services of public education. The administration and teaching personnel are under his control. Instruction in the private schools is subject to his supervisory authority. He initiates educational legislation, executes the laws, draws up and countersigns decrees, which, when further adorned with the President's signa-

ture, have the force of law. Besides all this the Minister wrestles with the budget, preparing and presenting it and authorizing expenditures. Somewhat more agreeable, no doubt, is his right to nominate for presidential appointment most of the important officials in the French educational chain. These include the rectors of the academies, academy inspectors, and others whose wigs are not quite so big. A few appointments may be made by the Minister himself. Since the Minister of National Education is the State's number one man in education, he is expected to cast his eyes over most of its workings. Thus with the advice of others in the Ministry and of members of the Higher Council, the Minister prescribes curricula, courses of study, and methods of teaching for all the schools. Now and then he may assume the judicial robes with disciplinary authority over all officials appointed by him; in addition he has the right to listen to appeals in cases of conflict. Curiously enough, the Minister is required by law to sign all official correspondence personally.

c. **The Higher Council of Public Instruction.** Assisting and advising the Minister is the Higher Council of Public Instruction, a professional body of more than fifty members. These are taken from the entire realm of education, public and private, from the primary schools to the universities and higher schools. The Council meets biennially, but may be called for advice by the Minister. As has been suggested, in certain matters, such as those pertaining to programs, curricula, methods, examinations, and the like, the Minister must request the Council's advice. The Council, incidentally, also has some judicial power, having the right to sit as a final appellate court on decisions of the Departmental Councils prohibiting primary teachers of both public and private schools from teaching. Likewise it sits on decisions of

the Departmental Councils brought against the opening of private schools.

A group of fifteen Higher Councilors is organized into the Permanent Section. Doing the Council's heavy work, these fifteen study curricula and regulations before they are set before the Council as a whole. They report on questions of administration, studies, or discipline referred to them by the Minister. They also bend themselves over questions dealing with the establishment of normal schools. And, to make an end, they advise on whether or not certain books, texts, and the like are fit for school use.

d. **General Inspectors.** Forming another link in the State's educational chain are the General Inspectors. They assist the Ministry very directly and constitute a *liaison* between it and the nation's schools. Appointed by the President of the Republic, they are assigned to their duties by the Minister. At times they are selected to special investigations.

e. **Consultative Committees.** Associated with the Ministry, and a part of the permanent staff, are three Consultative Committees, one each for primary, secondary, and higher education. As is to be expected, these Committees are organized in the true spirit of centralization. They meet once a year, or whenever the Minister feels there is need of a meeting. Their chief business deals with appointments, promotions, changes, and transfers of teachers.

f. **Educational departments or *directions*.** The permanent conduct of educational matters is also organized. There are several departments, or as the French express it, *directions*. There is one each for higher, secondary, primary education, fine arts, and accounts. In 1928 the Sub-Secretariat of Vocational Education was re-estab-

lished, and at the same time the first Sub-Secretariat for Physical Education was launched. Each department is further divided into bureaus. They all have their specialties, dealing with such matters as discipline, scholarship, courses of study, personnel, buildings, finance, and so on. The Department of Fine Arts has charge of historical monuments, public buildings, architectural works, theaters, motion pictures, museums, and expositions.

g. **The Sub-Secretariat of Vocational Education.** Vocational education is organized separately under the Sub-Secretariat of Vocational Education, its head being known as the Under-Secretary of State for Vocational Education. Like the Minister, he is assisted by a personal cabinet and a Higher Council of Vocational Education. This group is fairly large, and besides its regular members it has a large body of alternates, who act as representatives of employers and employees, teachers, and departmental committees for vocational education. Here again there is a permanent committee, one of whose main duties is to keep the members of the Council familiar with any important changes in the field of vocational education during the period when the Council is not in session.

h. **Physical education.** In 1929 physical education came into its organizational rights when it was put under a special body known as the Sub-Secretariat of State for Physical Education. Previously the ward of various authorities, physical education had for a while been under the watchful eyes of the Ministry of War. Subsequently, the Ministry of Public Instruction took it under its wings. Now, however, it is organized under its own authority with functions analogous to those of the Sub-Secretariat for Fine Arts and Vocational Education.

i. **The academies.** From what has been said thus far it should be clear that at Paris there has been organized

a system of educational machinery capable of dealing with every phase of education. Every need has been anticipated by the State, and by a collection of laws, circulars, and instructions it has been provided for. Through this system the State has harnessed its control to every school in France. For at bottom, local administration is but an arm of the central authority. True enough, certain powers have been given to the local councils, but their execution is under the control of the Ministry.

The division of Gaul into three parts seems fabulously simple when compared with the map of French educational administration. Here seventeen divisions grace the land. They are Aix, Besançon, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont, Dijon, Grenoble, Lille, Lyons, Montpellier, Nancy, Paris, Poitiers, Rennes, Strasbourg, Toulouse, and Algiers. Known as *académies,* they are further divided into smaller administrational districts. In each academy, moreover, there is a university.

j. The Rector. The head of the academy is the Rector. By virtue of his office he is also the head of the university in his academy. He is nominated by the Minister and appointed by the President, and is chosen from the university professoriate, though not necessarily from the university he is to head. In the actual administration of the educational laws and regulations in the academy the Rector is the Minister's most important representative. Indeed, in his domain the Rector is responsible for all branches of education. Chiefly, however, he is concerned with higher education—the secondary and normal schools and the university. Questions of finance, discipline, hygiene, and school buildings come under his watch. With the help of local inspectors the Rector effects conformity of curricula and methods of teaching adopted by the Higher Council of Public In-

struction. Subject to the Rector's approval are such matters as programs, the list of manuals, textbooks to be used, and the library works to be made available to the students. In general the Rector supervises the examinations held in his academy; in some cases he chooses subjects for composition and nominates the examining committees; he appoints *lycée* professors to sit on juries to determine the award of the secondary school's baccalaureate; and he even finds time to award diplomas. In addition the Rector is expected to keep the Minister and the General Inspectors informed and advised on all matters regarding the personnel, administration, and pedagogical questions.

That no one man could efficiently discharge all the tasks for which the Rector is responsible has been recognized by the French State in the creation of another chain of functionaries. The Rector, moreover, has the help of a sort of a cabinet known as the Academic Council, which is composed of various educational officials ranging from academy inspectors to representatives of departmental and communal councils.

k. Academy inspectors. Chief aids of the Rector are his Academy and Primary Inspectors. Of the former there is at least one for every department, though some of the large departments have more. The office is important, and consequently the qualifications required of potential candidates are not light. Thus they must possess the doctorate in letters or the sciences, or the even more elusive *agrégation,* or the certificate of aptitude for a primary inspectorship together with a *license d'enseignement* (teaching license). Besides these academic requisites the candidate must have several years' experience as teacher, principal, or inspector. Like most other important educational representatives of the State the

Academy Inspector is a very busy official. He oversees the financial management and administration of the secondary schools, the normal schools, and the higher primary schools. The teaching personnel is subject to his inspection. He may advise teachers on any matter of school organization, such as the division of time, the establishment of special classes, and so on. He has special authority over primary education; and he also inspects the kindergartens and the so-called maternal schools. He assigns supernumerary teachers, and he has a say in the assignment of the regular teachers. He attends pedagogical conferences; presides over departmental committees. Annually he offers a report on the progress of education in his area. First submitted to the Departmental Council, it eventually passes into the hands of the Minister. Obviously the powers of the Academy Inspector are great and varied; yet in executing them he is by no means a free agent, since at all times he is the representative of the Minister and has no right to initiate policies.

1. **Primary School Inspectors.** As director of primary education in his department the Academy Inspector is assisted by the Primary School Inspector and the Maternal School Inspector. The latter post is open to women; the former to both sexes. Besides having all the required certificates and licenses, candidates for a primary school inspectorship must have had at least a five-year teaching experience. To obtain their post, moreover, they must pass a very rigorous competitive examination. Interesting to note is the fact that a Primary Inspector may not be appointed to his native district or to the district where he was trained. The Primary School Inspector, it should be observed, is a *state* and not a local official. Through the chain of centralization his responsibility is linked to the Academy and General Inspector,

the Rector, and in the final analysis, to the Minister. True to their name, the Primary Inspectors inspect elementary schools, public and private; they distribute pupils in classes; approve timetables; give advice on the appointment, promotion, transfer, and disciplining of teachers; inspect public school buildings before their opening is finally authorized; preside over teachers' meetings; advise on the procedure for the opening or closing of schools; advise on the organization of adult courses, school funds, and the establishment of private schools; supervise the administration of the school attendance law; conduct the examinations for the certificate of elementary studies. The Primary Inspector is a member of the Departmental Textbook Commission as well as the examination committees for the *brevet elementaire* and the *brevet supérieur*. By virtue of his office the Primary Inspector is a member of all local committees.

m. The departments. France is divided into ninety departments, each of which is in charge of the Prefect. Appointed by the Minister of the Interior, the Prefect is responsible to a number of Ministries, depending on the particular nature of his functions. In education his duties are varied. He is the head of the elementary school system; he oversees educational accounts and expenditures by the department; he decides on the location of schools; bestows permanent appointments on teachers; supervises scholarship awards to the higher elementary schools. In addition he is the head of the Departmental Council of Primary Education. Mainly an administrative body, the Council may propose any reforms that it deems in order. It gives its advice on the number and kind of elementary schools to be maintained in each commune; it suggests the number of teachers required; and each year it draws up lists of teachers to be promoted.

The Council meets quarterly and at the behest of the Prefect. Its functions are advisory.

n. **The communes.** In France there are some 38,000 communes, varying in size from little hamlets with barely a half-hundred inhabitants to two communes with a population of more than a million each. On the whole the commune is similar to the American township. The head of the commune is the mayor, who is nominated for his office by the Communal Council, an elected body. The mayor is responsible to the Prefect and to the central administration. In education he oversees the school buildings, proposing new buildings when he deems them needed. He also makes recommendations concerning the opening of private schools. One of his most important duties is to encourage school attendance.

In his educational work, the mayor is helped by a Municipal School Commission, a body made up of the mayor or his delegate, a delegate of the canton or, in communes composed of several cantons, of as many delegates chosen by the Academy Inspector as there are cantons, and also members chosen by the Municipal Council. The Commission's main reason for being is to encourage and supervise school attendance. With the mayor's help, the Commission annually takes a school census. It may consider excuses for absence; hear complaints; pronounce penalties; and under certain conditions it may grant exemptions from attendance. Within ten days after a decision has been made, appeals may be brought by parents, guardians, or the Primary Inspector to the Departmental Council. The Municipal School Commission also administers the *caisse d'école,* a voluntary school fund. In cases of need it may grant aid. On the whole, however, the Commission lacks real power, since Departmental Councils and Prefects may set aside its decisions. Mem-

bers of the Commission have no right to enter schools, and the subjects of instruction, as well as methods, texts, and equipment, lie outside their jurisdiction.

Communes having one or more public maternal schools may have one or more Committees of Patronage. The members of this body are named for three years by the Academy Inspector with the advice of the mayor. The latter is chairman of the Committee. The Committee's duties are to see that the schools are well-kept and in a sanitary condition. It sees to it that funds are properly used for the benefit of the children.

Every higher primary school or complementary course has a Committee of Patronage, which is named by the Minister's *arrêté* on the advice of the Higher Council of Public Instruction. As *ex officio* members, the Committee includes the Rector, the Academy Inspector, the Inspector of Primary Education, the head of the school, the presidents of the chamber of commerce and the chamber of agriculture. Other members are elected for a year. They are drawn from the ranks of the teachers and persons representing the chief local interests in professional education. On the Committee there is also a physician. The Committee meets thrice a year, usually under the chairmanship of the Rector or the Academy Inspector. Similar committees exist for secondary schools for girls and for vocational schools.

What are the chief duties of the Committee of Patronage? They are on the whole quite considerable and fairly significant. For one thing, the Committee gives its views on the adequacy of the school plant, and the measures undertaken to adjust instruction to local needs. It helps to send pupils on trips to other communities and sometimes even to foreign countries. It provides scholarships; fixes rates for those pupils who live in the boarding divi-

sion of certain schools; helps to find employment for the more capable pupils after they have finished their course; and in a general way it cares for the pupils' interests. Some of the members of the Committee make periodic visits to the schools and issue reports thereon. The Committee, however, may not interfere in purely educational matters. Despite this important limitation on its powers the Committee plays an important part in French education. In centralized France, the *comité de patronage* is the outstanding link that connects the public and the schools.

o. Educational finance. The cost of education is borne by the State, departments, and communes. Each of these three governmental divisions levies taxes of various sorts. The State draws its revenue from several sources: (1) taxes on income; (2) taxes assimilated with direct taxes—luxuries and fees for service; (3) indirect taxes, including stamp taxes, customs, excise, and commodity taxes; (4) moneys derived from state monopolies and taxes on gambling. The departments collect: (1) *centimes additionels*, that is to say, a surtax, or centimes, added to the State's direct tax; taxes on real estate, buildings, rentals, and licenses on trades and professions; (3) extraordinary or deficiency taxes, the maximum of which is fixed annually by the Finance Law. The communes are allowed to keep a share of the State's indirect taxes besides the *centimes additionels*. In addition they derive revenue from local dog taxes, taxes on animals for sale or slaughter, and entertainments, as well as from fees, licenses, and tolls.

Educational expenditures are classified as ordinary, extraordinary, and those adopted by agreement. In the domain of elementary education the State assumes as ordinary expenditures all salary costs and supplements

for special posts, the maintenance of students in normal schools, the maintenance of the normal schools—but not the cost of repairs and equipment—and aid to needy communes. For the maintenance and repair of normal school buildings the departments are responsible. Likewise they must provide and maintain an office for the Academy Inspector. They are responsible for additional salary grants to Primary Inspectors, the cost of board for those normal school students who do not dwell in the dormitories, the supply of materials for manual work in the normal schools, and the publication of the departmental bulletin on elementary education. The communes, for their part, are responsible for the wages of assistants in maternal schools, the cost of teachers' lodgings and repairs, the indemnification for rent to teachers; they must also supply school materials and equipment.

Under extraordinary expenses are grants-in-aid given by the State to departments and communes to defray interest payments on loans and buildings. The departments, for their part, must supply the sites and buildings for normal schools; and the communes, in their turn, the sites and buildings for elementary schools.

In addition to the foregoing ordinary and extraordinary expenditures, the State, departments, and communes may assume others voluntarily, but once thus assumed they must be continued for a term of years. For example, communes may, at their option, when not required by law, establish maternal schools, infant classes, and advanced elementary schools, but once established, such schools must be maintained for a number of years—thirty years if state aid is obtained. Once established, such schools become obligatory by agreement between the State and the commune and they receive aid on the same basis as those schools required by law. By agreement the

State may make subsidies for manual work in normal schools, instruction in special subjects, apparatus, library books, and educational museums, as well as school funds —*caisses d'écoles*. Departments may make grants for additions to the salaries of teachers and inspectors, subsidies for school funds, and for prizes. Communes may also grant additions to teachers' salaries, provide moneys for equipment, books, prizes, and scholarships, in addition to subsidizing school funds and maintaining special classes.

3. Elementary education

The French elementary school system comprises a number of institutions and schools. Concerned with elementary as distinguished from higher education, these include (1) the elementary school properly speaking, that is, the *école primaire;* (2) the infant or maternal school, the *école maternelle et la classe enfantine;* (3) the higher elementary school, the *école primaire supérieure;* (4) and those institutions which prepare teachers for these schools, the *école normale primaire et l'école normale primaire supérieure.*

a. ***L'école maternelle.*** In origin the French infant or maternal school is traceable to the ideas of Jean Oberlin and Pere Girard, and to the regulations of 1837, which sought "to provide maternal care and the early stage of education suited to the ages of the pupils." Subsequent laws modified early infant education, which in the main was a charitable rather than an educational venture. It was a decree and a regulation of January 18, 1887, which organized and defined the work of the school, and which laid the foundation for the infant school of today. Maternal schools may be established at the option of municipalities; once established, such schools must be

maintained for at least ten years by an agreement between the commune and the State. For the school's support state aid is provided. This regulation, however, applies only to communes with a population of at least

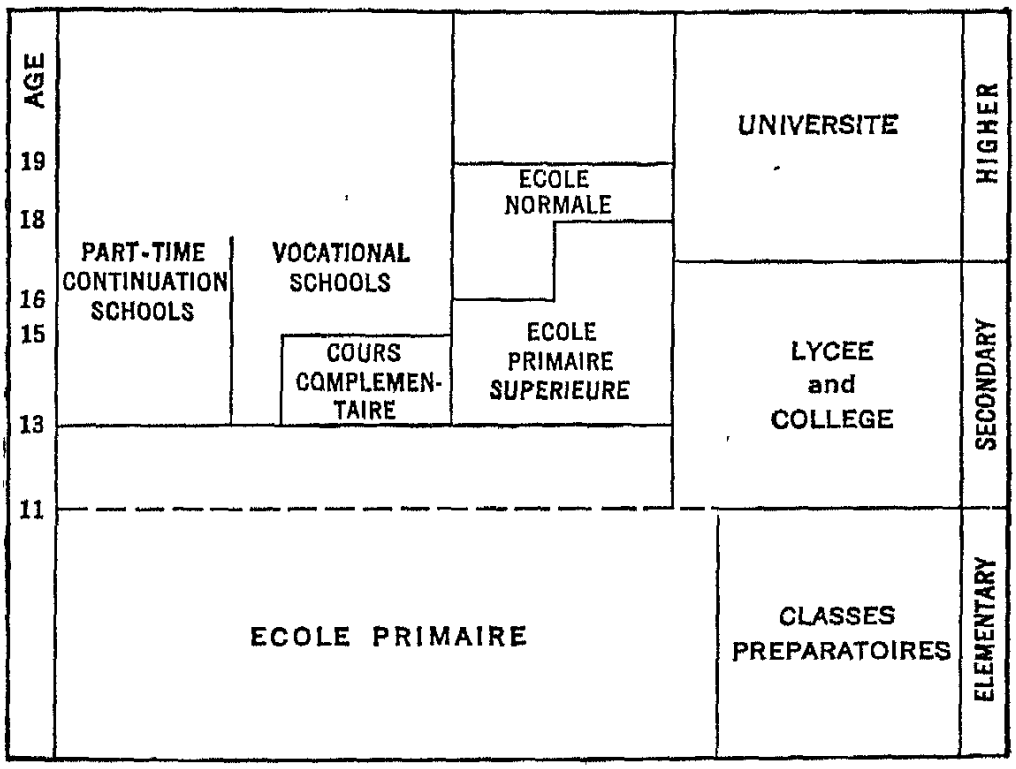


Fig. 4. The Schools of France. (From *Education in a Democracy*, by Myers and Williams. Copyright by Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1937.)

2,000, of whom 1,200 are in a town or village. In the case of smaller municipalities such schools must be maintained at their own expense. The equipment and construction of the maternal school has been precisely formulated by law. Thus there must be waiting-rooms for parents; rooms for rest, recreation, and class activities; a kitchen, cloakrooms, washbowls, medicine cupboard, sanitary equipment, and sleeping cots; there must be movable chairs and tables. Each school must be equipped with toys, wagons, carts, sand-trays, hoops,

jumping ropes, pails, balls, beads, paper for cutting, weaving, and folding, wool, cotton, raffia, scissors, clay, cubes, bricks, sticks, pictures, slates, crayons, and a tuning-fork.

Attendance at the *école maternelle* is, of course, entirely voluntary, children being admitted at the age of two and remaining until they are six. Municipalities of less than 2,000 often have a *classe enfantine,* instead of the *école maternelle.* Connected with the elementary school, the *classe enfantine* is in charge of the principal. Particular attention is given to the child's health, no child being allowed to enter the maternal school without a medical certificate. To prevent the spread of disease, absences are carefully checked. Furthermore, a medical officer is expected to make monthly inspections. Maternal schools are restricted to 150 pupils; and where the enrollment is more than 50 an assistant principal is appointed. Classes are restricted to 25 children, grouped into two divisions according to age and intelligence. The curriculum is varied enough, consisting of (1) physical exercises: breathing exercises, games and movements with songs; (2) sensory exercises, manual work, and drawing; (3) exercises in observation; (4) exercises for the development of moral habits; (5) exercises in language and recitation; (6) introductory exercises in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In the past the maternal school has been held down somewhat by the influence of a conservative scholastic tradition and by the insistence of ambitious parents that their children be taught the formalities of the three R's as early as possible. Of recent years, however, there has been a new trend towards more stress on play and free activities and a consequent less regard for formal school work and instruction. Freedom and spontaneity, health and happiness, physical and moral development, training in observation and

thinking are aspects of the newer tendency. At bottom they are not so far from the original method suggested by earlier regulations. To some extent, no doubt, the *école maternelle* has been influenced by the spread of the Montessori ideas. However, between the French *école maternelle* and the preschools of most other lands there is still quite a gap.

b. *L'école primaire.* In France education is compulsory for all children between the ages of six and thirteen. A child may attend public or private school; or he may even be educated at home. In the latter case, however, the youngster must, after his third school year, take an annual examination given by a committee representing the State. In those places where there is no form of preschool, children may be admitted to the elementary school at the age of five. Founded by Guizot in 1833, at a time when education was not compulsory, the state elementary schools used to charge fees, and it was not until 1882 that these schools became wholly free. Whether elementary education is given in the public elementary school, or in private schools, or in the preparatory classes of the secondary schools, or at home, it is the same for all children.

As is to be expected, most French children attend the public elementary school, which every commune must provide. Where the population is over 500, separate schools are required for boys and girls, unless special permission is given to operate a mixed school. Boys must be taught by men; girls and mixed classes by women; only in exceptional cases may women teach in boys' schools. To teach in the *école primaire* a teacher must possess the *brevet élementaire,* which is obtained by passing an examination in the work of a higher elementary school; the *brevet supérieur,* granted by examination

after the normal school course; and the *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique,* obtained on examination after at least two years of service. The *brevet élementaire* does not bestow permanence in appointment, nor does it confer an assignment on the salary scale. The *brevet supérieur* entitles its holder to an appointment as a temporary elementary school teacher. After at least two years of experience and the passing of an examination—and in the case of men, the completion of their military service—the teacher may become eligible to permanent appointment and advancement on the salary scale.

The elementary school's work is organized by courses rather than classes. Altogether there are four courses. The first is the preparatory course—*cours préparatoire* —and is for one year for children of six to seven years in age. The next three courses are each of two years' duration. The first is the elementary course—*cours élementaire*—for seven- to nine-year-olds; then comes the intermediate course—*cours moyen*—for nine- to eleven-year-olds; and finally there is the advanced course—*cours supérieur*—for eleven- to thirteen-year-olds. Before the course of study was revised in 1923, the practice was (beyond the preparatory course) to make the second year of each course repeat and review the work of the first. According to the *Instruction* of 1923, repetition and review are still recognized as most important, but their former rigidity has vanished to a great extent. ". . . . The monotony of review and distaste for what has already been studied should be avoided. . . . ."

Theoretically conceived, the French elementary school seeks to give the learner what are generally accepted as fundamental facts, information, and knowledge. "We do not ask that each child be left to do just as he likes, according to his fancy; the school is no more a playroom

than a prison; the school is the school—a gathering of children working whole-heartedly for their common education, under the guidance of the teacher." The child studies the following subjects: morals and civics, reading and writing, French, arithmetic and the metric system, history and geography with special stress on France, object lessons and elementary sciences, drawing, singing, manual work for boys with stress on agriculture, needlework for girls, and physical and military training. Except in Alsace-Lorraine, instruction must be in French. The time-distribution of subjects is shown on page 286.

What France expects, above all, of its elementary school is that its work shall be done thoroughly. On the whole the so-called New Education has made very little headway. As in the past, knowledge, facts, and information continue to be stressed, though recently more liberal trends have become discernible. Through the influence of the crusading school reformers, *Les Compagnons*, the demands of regionalists, and the realization that rural education has not been successful because of its failure to adjust its program to local conditions, there has developed a growing tendency to allow adaptation to local conditions. Recent circulars have, in fact, encouraged the normal schools to give some heed to preparing teachers for the small one-teacher school, and elementary schools to emphasize the local environs and to give some attention to the occupations of young children.

The methods of instruction found in the French elementary school have not the diversity of those found in most other countries. Ordinarily, instruction falls into three parts: (1) exposition and presentation by the teacher, (2) discussions through questions and answers, (3) summarization in the form of an idea, a short statement to be noted in the pupil's exercise book and to be memo-

OFFICIAL TIME-SCHEDULE

	Prep. Sec. Hrs.	Elem. Course		Middle Course		Higher Course		Total	
		B. Hrs.	G. Hrs	B Hrs.	G. Hrs.	B. Hrs.	G Hrs.	Boys Hrs.	Girls Hrs.
Moral and civic instruction	1¼	1¼	1¼	1¼	1¼	1½	1½	5¼	5¼
Reading	10	7	6½	3	3	2½	2½	22½	22
Writing	5	2½	2½	1½	1½	¾	¾	9¾	9¾
French	2½	5	5	7½	7	7½	7	22½	21½
History and geography	. .	2½	2½	3	3	3	3	8½	8½
Arithmetic and geometry	2½	3½	3½	4½	4½	5	5	15½	15½
Physical and natural science	1¼	1½	1½	2½	2	2½	2½	7¾	7¼
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
Manual work	1½	1	1½	1	2	1½	2	5	7
Music (inc. singing)	1¼	1	1	1	1	1	1	4¼	4¼
Physical training	1¾	2	2	2	2	2	2	7¾	7¾
Recreation	2	1¾	1¾	1¾	1¾	1¾	1¾	7¼	7¼
Total hours	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	120	120

rized. Every pupil must have an exercise book wherein is recorded the first task in each subject at the beginning of the month; if the teacher so decides, he may also have one in which he enters his daily work. Both these books are used as records and are examined periodically both by parents and inspectors, not only to scrutinize the progress of the pupils, but also the work of the teacher.

The textbooks used in the elementary school are subject to the control of the State. A number of committees are concerned in the selection of textbooks. Only books on an approved list may be used, and no book, pamphlet, or manuscript may be introduced without the permission of the Academy Inspector. Books designed as prizes may be chosen by the teachers themselves, or by the municipal authorities, but even here the Higher Council may ban certain books. The books which a child is required to have are specifically prescribed by law. Thus in the elementary course he must have a reader; in the intermediate course he must be equipped with a reader, an elementary grammar, an elementary arithmetic, a history of France, and a small atlas; and in the upper course he must possess a reader, a grammar, an arithmetic, a history of France or a history that covers the prescribed course, an atlas. and a text on morals and civics.

The promotion of pupils is annual and is based on their records and the recommendation of their teachers. In the end there is a state examination for the certificate of primary studies—*certificat d'études primaires*. Pupils may take the examination if they are twelve years old in the year of the examination. It is conducted in the capital of the canton and is under the auspices of a committee made up of a Primary Inspector, a representative of a normal school, higher elementary school or an

elementary school with a *cours complémentaire,* and two teachers not connected with the school of the canton where the examination is to be held. Women are included as members on the commission to examine girls. The examination is oral and written and takes considerable time. Interestingly enough, a definite system of marking is prescribed on a scale of 10, thus: 1–2, bad; 3–4, middling; 5, passing; 6, tolerably good; 7–8, good; 9–10, very good. The results are reported by the examiners to the Academy Inspector, who issues the coveted certificate to the successful pupils and then delivers his report to the Rector, through whom it eventually lands in the Ministry. For some time the examination has been under critical fire, and recently the authorities have striven to develop tests calling for observation and reflection. At the same time they have tried to discourage cramming and too much stress on preparation for the examinations. Thus far, however, they have not succeeded, and the examination continues to put a premium on bookishness and abstract methods. Curiously enough, the examination on the whole is favored by most parents.

While French elementary education is compulsory, its administration has not been too efficient. True enough, the organization is on hand. Thus a school census must be made annually by the mayor, assisted by the school committee; parents of children of school age are duly notified. Two weeks before the beginning of the school year children must be enrolled in a school, or in lieu thereof, parents must submit a statement of the provision they are making for their offspring. Moreover, parents and guardians are responsible for the school attendance of the youngsters under their charge; in cases of inexcusable absence, the names of parents and guardians are publicly displayed on the city hall's bulletin

board for a period of two weeks or a month. For repetitions of the offence there are fines or imprisonment. And yet despite all this administrative machinery, compulsory education has not been thoroughly enforced. Repeated attempts to require school attendance for the full period, without any exceptions, have met with poor success. One explanation of the laxity in enforcement of the compulsory attendance regulations is the shortage of agricultural labor in the farming sections. Another reason is adduced to the unwillingness on the part of the school committees to use their authority. The fact that up to a short time ago the school was not adapted to local conditions is probably another explanation of the problem. Then, too, in some instances parents have failed to co-operate with the authorities chiefly because of their indifference in the matter. The handmaiden of poor school attendance is usually illiteracy, and in this particular case, unfortunately, France has been no exception. In 1924, for example, of 235,325 recruits called for military service, 13,838, or slightly more than 6 per cent, were unable to read and write. Before the World War, France had succeeded in reducing its illiteracy to about 3 per cent. Interestingly enough, in Alsace-Lorraine there is virtually no illiteracy.

One of the most difficult problems confronting French elementary education has been the rural school. Time was when the authorities were not particularly concerned with rural education. But with the general increase in the population movement toward the city, French educators have become more and more aware of the immense significance of rural education. As has been stated, attempts to adjust education to local needs are to be encouraged. Plans for the establishment of a rural school of a specific agricultural character have been discussed

and considered. Interestingly enough, agricultural societies have been asked with increasing frequency for suggestions with regard to the problems that come from rural education.

c. *L'école primaire supérieure.* Higher than the *école primaire,* but not the equivalent of the regular secondary school, the *lycée,* and the *collège,* is the advanced elementary school, the *école primaire supérieure.* It was created in 1833 by the Guizot Law. Established at the request of the commune, the *école primaire supérieure,* once established, must be maintained for a period of time—usually thirty years—if there is state aid. The school offers a three-year course for boys and girls at least twelve years old, holding the elementary school certificate (*certificat d'études primaires*) and having been at least one year in the upper course of the elementary school. Students may also be admitted at times by examination or by having obtained a national scholarship.

The faculty of an advanced elementary school comprises a principal, professors, assistant professors, teachers, and foremen. Principals and professors must possess the *certificat d'aptitude au professorat des écoles normales et écoles primaires supérieures.* Assistant professors do not meet this qualification, but they have had three years' teaching experience in a post-elementary, secondary, or vocational school. Principals, incidentally, are required to teach ten periods a week in schools with less than 150 pupils.

Each school may decide on the number of curricula it will offer, making its choice from sections that are general, industrial, agricultural, commercial, or referring to household art in nature. The courses of study and the subjects are prescribed by the Ministry. However, principals

may, with the advice of their teachers' councils, adjust them to local conditions. Since the advanced elementary school is generally established through the efforts of the local authorities, this freedom is of particular importance. The actions of the principal and the teachers' councils in administrative matters are subject to the approval of the Academy Inspectors.

The subjects prescribed officially are: morals, civics, everyday law, elementary economics; French language and literature; modern foreign languages, including English, German, Italian, or Spanish; French history and an introduction to general history; geography; practical arithmetic, including rapid calculation; algebra and geometry; elementary physical and natural sciences; practical principles of hygiene; writing, stenography, and typewriting; artistic design and modeling; geometrical design; singing; physical education and, for boys, military training. In addition there are special courses—theory and practice of industry, commerce, agriculture (including mechanics), technology, industrial chemistry, merchandising, transportation, bookkeeping and accounting. In addition there is practical work in the shop, the laboratory, and in agriculture and horticulture. For girls there is practical work in household economy, household management, the care of infants, dressmaking, cooking, the care of linen, the care of the home, the farm, the garden, and so on.

The time-schedules suggested for these courses in the official regulations are those shown in the tables on pages 292 and 293.

The main purpose of the advanced elementary school is training for the country's administrative and economic occupations, for posts held in these domains by what might be designated as the intermediate grade of official.

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Courses for Boys

	Common Course	General Course		Agricultural Course		Industrial Course		Commercial Course	
	First year	Second year	Third year	Second year	Third year	Second year	Third year	Second year	Third year
Moral instruction, civics, everyday law, economics	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
French	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	4
Modern languages	3	4	4	.	..	..	..	4	4
History	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Geography	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Mechanics	..	..	..	1	1	1	2	..	..
Physics and chemistry	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	3
Natural sciences and hygiene	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Technology	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Agriculture	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	.	..
Artistic design and modeling	2	2	2	.	..	2	2	..	.
Geometrical design	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	..	..
Writing	1*	..	..	..	..		..	..	..
Stenography and typewriting	3*	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Bookkeeping	..	..	.	1	..	..	..	3	3
Singing (1 hour elective)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2*	2*	2*	2*	2	2
Shopwork, laboratory, agriculture, horticulture	4	4	4	9	9	12	12	1	1
Total	31	28	28	32	31	36	37	29	30
Compulsory	26	27	27	29	28	33	34	30	30
Elective	5	1	1	3	3	3	3	1	1

* Elective.

COURSES FOR GIRLS

	Common Course	General Course		Commercial Course		Domestic Arts Course	
	First year	Second year	Third year	Second year	Third year	Second year	Third year
Moral instruction, civics, everyday law, economics	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
French	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Modern languages	3	4	4	4	4	..	..
History	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Geography	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Physics and chemistry	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Natural sciences and hygiene	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Technology	.	..	..	1	1	..	..
Artistic design and modeling	2	2	2	..	..	2	2
Geometrical design	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Writing	1*	..	..	1	1	..	..
Stenography and typewriting	3*	..	.	4	4	.	..
Bookkeeping	..	..	..	2	2	..	
Domestic economy	.	1	1	..	..	1	1
Singing (1 hour elective)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Lingerie, clothing, fashions, cookery, household management, garden, farm, infant care	6	6	6	..	.	12	12
Total	33	31	31	30	31	31	31
Compulsory	28	30	30	30	30	30	30
Elective	5	1	1	1	1	1	1

* Elective.

The work is mainly practical rather than academic. Indeed, it is this difference that marks the distinction between the advanced elementary and the secondary school. The latter stresses a formal intellectual training, while the former specializes more in the acquisition of knowledge and information. In character the *école primaire supérieure* is much more like the American high school than are either the *lycée* or the *collège,* the secondary schools of France. It is now possible for pupils to transfer from the advanced elementary school to the regular secondary school. National scholarships, incidentally, may be held interchangeably in one or the other.

As usual, a state examination must be taken by the pupil at the end of his three years of study in the advanced elementary school. Success in the examination leads to the *brevet d'enseignement primaire supérieur.* A candidate for the examination must be at least fifteen years old, and must present his *livret de scolarité,* a record book of his scholastic progress and accomplishments, including his attendance, marks, and deportment. As in the examination for the certificate of primary studies that marks the successful termination of the child's elementary school career, the examination for the *brevet* of the advanced elementary school studies is oral and written, and is given by a general examining commission. This consists of the Academy Inspector, or a deputy, five members chosen from elementary school inspectors, and teachers in the secondary, normal, and higher elementary schools. The committee is appointed by the Rector. Besides the written and oral test there is also a practical test, based on the vocational work of each section. The *brevet d'enseignement primaire supérieur* is a fairly coveted certificate since it aids in securing certain appointments. It is required for entrance to certain schools and for eligibility to compete for scholarships for foreign travel.

Those localities unable to establish advanced elementary schools sometimes organize a full-time continuation course—*cours complémentaire*—in connection with the existing elementary school. This generally offers a one- or two-year curriculum for pupils admitted on the same conditions as those attending the advanced elementary schools. As far as possible, under the limitations of time, the curriculum is similar to that of the advanced elementary school. The *cours complémentaire* is under the direction of the principal of the elementary school, the work being divided between two special teachers, one for the sciences and one for letters.

4. Secondary education

a. Historical background. Caressed by venerable age, French secondary education can be traced back to the medieval era. The humanistic epoch was particularly strong in giving life and purpose to the secondary school. It was under the patronage of Francis I, in 1530, that the *Collège Royal,* later renamed the *Collège de France,* came into being. In the development of the secondary school and its traditions various religious orders wielded considerable influence. The Jesuits, the Oratorians, and the Port Royalists all left their mark on the secondary school. By the middle of the eighteenth century some one hundred *collèges* of varying size and influence were in existence. Two main characteristics are discernible in these schools: They acknowledged the supremacy of the Church and in their curriculum they gave a conspicuous place to Latin.

That period of political ferment which saw the French Revolution also witnessed a break in the classical tradition which had fastened itself on the secondary school. The *école centrale,* the secondary school of the Revolution, put mathematics and the sciences into its curricula.

This break, however, was only transitory, for under Napoleon the ancient educational ideals reappeared. Two types of secondary schools were developed—the *écoles secondaires communales* and the *lycées.* The former belonged to the communes or to private owners; they form the nucleus of the present-day *collèges communaux.* The *lycée,* then as now, was under the State.

The several political events which moved over France in the nineteenth century did not very much alter the tradition of classical instruction. There were, it is true, onslaughts on this tradition, and some of these attacks gave birth to modifications and innovations. In 1852, for example, the idea of bifurcation was introduced. By this the secondary school provided a common course for the first three years, and this was then followed by a bifurcation of two courses, one scientific and one literary. The latter led to the *baccalauréat ès lettres,* and the former to the *baccalauréat ès sciences.* Bifurcation, however, led a precarious life and in 1863 it came to its end. Two years later Victor Duruy introduced the "special course" intended to prepare foremen, managers, and minor officials. Omitting Latin, this course included the modern tongues, mathematics and science, history and geography, bookkeeping, drawing, surveying, and French. Unfortunately, this special course did not flourish. Abolished in 1891, it was replaced by the so-called *enseignement moderne,* which, as its name implies, stressed the modern subjects.

This reform, however, did not settle the controversy between the advocates of the classics and the proponents of the modern subjects. To study the question the French Parliament ordered an inquiry in 1899. A commission, headed by Ribot, undertook the study. Its findings cannot be considered here in detail. Briefly, however, the commission held that:

It is necessary to maintain and strengthen the classical tradition. But the essential condition of this maintenance and the improvement of the classical course is the reduction of the clientele to the just proportions imposed by the difficulty of the studies and the limit of the nation's needs. Here the need, pedagogically and socially, is absolute. The modern course must be maintained and allowed to exist, for it has a right to exist. But it will not exist fully and completely until that day when it ceases to be subjected to the inequality which is sheer injustice. . . . . Humanism is . . . . no longer the sole possession of the *lycée* or the *collège*. It must make room for a companion, very humble but very exacting, whose name is displeasing to refined ears—utility, or, as the Germans say, realism.

The findings of the Ribot commission were a prelude to a significant reform undertaken in 1902 under Minister Leygues. Introducing the principle of differentiation, this allowed the student several options. The secondary school was to be for seven years, divided into two cycles of four and three years each. The first cycle was to be complete in itself, leading to the *certificat d'études secondaires*. The second cycle had, during the first two years, a fourfold option: (1) Latin and Greek, (2) Latin and an advanced study of modern languages, (3) Latin and an advanced study of the sciences, (4) modern languages and sciences. At the end of each course the student could present himself for the first part of the baccalaureate examination. The seventh year offered a choice between specialization in mathematics and philosophy, and was followed by the second part of the baccalaureate examination. The student thus was given a choice between Latin and modern languages and science. Common to both courses were history and geography, mathematics, and the sciences. In the modern course, however, the last two groups of subjects received more time. The chief author of this reform in French secondary education was Louis Liard. Contrasting the two courses, Liard said:

There are two types of culture, the classical and the scientific. . . . . Classical culture, which in France has been traditional since the Renaissance . . . . teaches how to understand the full meaning of words and their exact relation to ideas, to arrange them with beauty and correctness, to appreciate the sentiments of the soul in their most delicate shades of meaning, to marshal words in varieties of expression corresponding to the infinite variety of sentiments, to appreciate and to have a taste for the most varied forms of beauty; finally, it transmits from age to age, through the classical texts and the works of philosophers an old fund of truths, of wisdom, of generosity which are the heritage of centuries that have gone to new stages of thinking and feeling humanity.

Side by side with this culture there has gradually found a place, with the continued progress of the sciences, scientific culture in the large sense of the word. This, too, whether it be history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, teaches how to combine ideas but in their necessary or real relations. Its end is the establishment of facts, the knowledge of the laws which unite them, in a word the proof of the truths that result. It is an instrument of method, of precision, of exactness, of discipline, individual and collective; it reveals his power to man and shows him its extent and limits; at the same time it is in its way philosophy, and if the bald interpretations of metaphysicians are unknown to it, it teaches that all phenomena, even though seriously contradictory, are bound together by constant relations, and that, by the network of its laws, the world is in harmony and unity.[6]

The Reform of 1902 brought down the curtain, for the time being, on an educational controversy that had existed for nearly a century. But the solution, at best, was an unsatisfactory compromise. During the war criticism of the entire educational system grew more intense. Not only was the reform under fire, but it was widely held that secondary education should be available to children of ability regardless of class, and that it should be general rather than specialized in character. It was generally agreed, however, that the purpose of secondary education should be to bestow a liberal education and to select the elite for leadership.

[6] *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Board of Education, XXIV, p. 206 ff.

b. The Bérard Reform. After the war the demands for reform became stronger. The arguments, however, took several guises. There were those who would have substituted vocational and technical training for the traditional subjects. Others preferred to retain cultural and general education, but wanted them more closely related to modern life. The proponents of technical and vocational preparation, as might be expected, were in a minority. Their stress on trade and technical subjects was deemed too specialized for the purpose of secondary education. At bottom, the question which was really at issue hinged on the interpretation and meaning of general education: should this be modern or classical, and what should be the place of the sciences?

In 1921, soon after the appointment of Léon Bérard as Minister of Public Instruction, the problem came to a head. Secondary education, Bérard felt:

> should form, by slow action of prolonged and disinterested studies, young people who, whatever specialty they take up later, will be distinguished by an eminent power to interest themselves in and to apply themselves to the varied creations of the spirit as well as of the industry of man.[7]

The best way to achieve such a goal, Bérard believed, was in making the classics compulsory for all. Thus he proposed to replace the system established in 1902 by a scheme which would require four years of Latin and two years of Greek of all secondary school students. Graphically, the Bérard system would appear as follows:

First Year: Latin
Second Year: Latin
Third Year: Latin and Greek
Fourth Year: Latin and Greek

[7] Quoted from the decree submitted by Bérard to the President of the Republic. See also Kandel, I. L., *The Reform of Secondary Education in France,* 1924; and "Changes in Secondary Education in France," *School and Society,* XIX, p. 184.

(A)	(B)	(C)
Option: Latin-Greek	*Option:* Latin	*Option:* Modern Languages
Fifth Year	Fifth Year	Fifth Year
Sixth Year	Sixth Year	Sixth Year

The seventh year was to allow specialization in mathematics or philosophy.

The whole subject of modern versus classical training was vigorously debated in the French Parliament in 1922 and 1923. On May 23, 1923, a presidential decree announced that the Bérard system was to go into effect in the entering classes of the *lycées* and *collèges* the following fall. Interestingly enough, this much-discussed reform was introduced not by legislative enactment, but by a decree signed by the Minister of Public Instruction and countersigned by the President. The reform was not passed by Parliament until some time later.

The decree had barely been in effect when there was a change in the government, and Bérard was succeeded by François Albert, who, by a decree of August, 1924, repealed the compulsory Latin and Greek, and restored the modern language option.

c. Subsequent changes. In 1925 a new course of study was announced for the fall. In the main the present system is based on this legislation, with subsequent slight modifications. Provision is made for a common course in the general subjects for the first six years, with an option, however, in the first four years between Latin and the modern foreign languages. Greek, once required, has now become an elective subject for Latin students, and is introduced in the third year for students studying Latin (Section A), when students studying modern languages (Section B) add a second modern foreign language. In the fifth and sixth years the options are threefold: Section A being classical; Section A′ offering Latin and modern foreign languages; Section B

offering modern foreign languages. The other subjects —French, history, geography, and the sciences—seek to effect a balanced curriculum by being the same for all. At bottom, the aim is to give a liberal literary and scientific education and to delay a too early specialization. The seventh year continues as in the past to be either philosophical or mathematical in emphasis.

d. **The baccalaureate.** The work of the secondary school is crowned with the baccalaureate which is awarded on the basis of examinations conducted by the State. The first part of the test comes at the end of the student's sixth year; the second follows the work of the seventh year. The bachelor's certificate has its significant value in that it opens the way to most of the higher schools. From the standpoint of the educational authorities the baccalaureate examination serves to insure definite standards throughout the nation. At the same time it acts as a check on the private secondary schools. The examination is both oral and written, and is held twice annually in the chief city of the Academy. The tests are administered by the deans of the faculties of letters and sciences. Candidates for the first part of the examination must be at least sixteen years old; no one may take the second part unless he has passed the first part of the examination during the preceding year.

Written examinations are given in the following subjects, varying with the section in which the student has been doing his work:

Section A: French composition; translation from Latin and Greek; problems in mathematics and physics.

Section A': French composition; translation from Latin; test in a modern foreign language; problems in mathematics and physics.

Section B: French composition; tests in two modern foreign languages; problems in mathematics and physics.

The oral examination includes:

Section A: Explication de textes in French, Latin, Greek, and a modern foreign language; questions on history, geography, mathematics, and physical sciences.

Section A': Explication de textes in French, Latin, and a modern foreign language; questions on history, geography, mathematics, and physical sciences.

Section B: Explication de textes in French and modern foreign languages; questions on history, geography, mathematics, and physical sciences.

The second part of the examination, as might be expected, depends on the course in which the student has specialized. It covers the following:

Philosophy: Written examination including a philosophical thesis, and problems in the physical and natural sciences. An oral examination including questions in philosophy, literature, history, geography, mathematics and cosmography, the physical and natural sciences, and a modern foreign language.

Mathematics: Written examination including problems in mathematics and physical sciences, and a philosophical thesis. An oral examination with questions on mathematics, physical and natural sciences, philosophy, history, geography, and a modern foreign language.

The baccalaureate examination frequently has been the subject of heated controversies. Immediately after the war the examinations tended to become somewhat easier; but subsequently the screws were tightened so that in Paris in the examination of October, 1924, some 40 per cent of the candidates failed. In some other places the mortality was as high as 70 per cent. Believing that there are better ways of selecting students for higher education, some French educators are opposed to the baccalaureate examination. Paul Appel, for example, suggested in the *Revue Universitaire* in 1925 that those students receiving good grades in their written work from their fourth year on should be exempt from further ex-

aminations. However, the baccalaureate examination, besides being a tradition of the first order, is also a sturdy weapon enabling the State to keep its eye on educational standards.

e. Organization. As has been indicated, there are two kinds of public secondary schools, the *collège* and the *lycée*. The latter is run by the State and is national; while former is a local institution. However, the *collège* is partly subsidized by the State. In return the State sends to the *collège* a number of students to whom it has granted scholarships. The State also reserves the right to fix the nature of the courses and the number of professors. The *lycée*, though entirely administered by the State, nevertheless enjoys some autonomy. Up to a few years ago the public secondary schools of France charged fees, but these now have been abolished.

There is considerable variety in the types of buildings used by the French secondary schools. Many of these are of venerable age, and hence they do not always comply with the requirements of present-day school hygiene. Officially it is stipulated that school buildings should "receive an abundance of air and light." If the older buildings fail at times to fulfill this prescription, their modern successors, erected as they usually are between two open school yards, have no difficulty in satisfying the law. The front part of the school building usually houses the rooms used by the administration, the living quarters of the school head, and some member of the staff, as well as the reception room for visitors, which in many schools also serves as the so-called *salle d'honneur*. True to its name, it contains the roll of honor of the school's more lustrous students. Behind this part of the building usually lies the main yard, the *cour d'honneur*, while to the rear there are more yards, some of which are used for physical training. Sleeping quarters are on the upper floors. The

studies and workrooms used in the natural sciences are sometimes located in smaller detached buildings. The same is generally true of the infirmary. Most secondary schools have before them a garden which is further adorned by a statue commemorating the school's heroic dead of the World War. As in many other lands French secondary schools are often named after the nation's eminent men, as for example: Lycée Buffon, Lycée Charlemagne, Lycée Montaigne, Lycée Henri IV, Lycée Voltaire, and so on. Sometimes they are named after the town, as for example: Lycée de Colmar, Lycée de Bordeaux, Lycée de Marseille, etc.

With very few exceptions, the French secondary schools are boarding schools. Their students, however, are classified into several types: (1) boarders, residing at the school and leaving only during vacations or by special permission; (2) non-boarders, who fall into two groups, those attending school for their studies but living at home, and those who, in addition, do their homework at the school with the boarders and under the supervision of a member of the staff. In addition there are the semi-boarders who take all their meals at school.

Strictly speaking, the French secondary school is much more than a secondary school. At the lower end of the school, for example, pupils are admitted at a very early age. These classes were organized to give direct preparation for the secondary school proper which does not, as in the United States, articulate with the last class of the elementary school. In 1924, however, distinctions between these preparatory classes and the elementary school up to the end of the *cours moyen* were done away with. Furthermore, in 1925 provision was made for the admission of these sections of pupils from the elementary schools free of tuition, consideration, however, being given in the selection to the pupil's ability as well as the available accommodations.

Not only have the *collège* and *lycée* elementary classes, but they also conduct advanced courses for students who have finished their secondary schooling and have obtained the baccalaureate. Such courses are found particularly in the larger cities. Some of the larger *lycées* conduct special courses for students wishing to prepare themselves for the competitive examination for the *école normale supérieure.* Advanced courses are also conducted in some schools preparing students for the competitive examination for St. Cyr, the military school for future French officers. In some schools there is an advanced mathematics course for those who wish to prepare themselves for a higher technical school as, for example, the *Ecole Polytechnique.*

The curriculum of the secondary school proper is seven years. The names of the classes are the *sixième, cinquième, quatrième, troisième, seconde,* and the *première.* With the completion of the work of the sixth year, that is to say, the *première,* the student is ready for the first part of the baccalaureate examination. As has been said elsewhere, the seventh year is either the *classe de philosophie* or the *classe de mathématiques,* and its completion is followed by the second part of the baccalaureate examination.

f. **Prizes.** Though the French secondary schools have at times been adversely criticized for their severe discipline, the situation is to an extent counterbalanced by their readiness to praise and reward as well as to blame and condemn. The *tableau d'honneur,* or roll of honor, has been mentioned. This is revised monthly and comprises the names of those students who in the unanimous judgment of the instructors have excelled in scholarship. Besides the roll of honor and the special commendation of the disciplinary council there are also prizes of various kinds. These are awarded in July at the end of the

TIME-SCHEDULE (APRIL, 1931), FRENCH SECONDARY SCHOOL (BOYS)

Classe de	Sixième			Cinquième			Quatrième				Troisième				Seconde				Première			
	Common	A	B	Common	A	B	Common	A	A¹	B	Common	A	A¹	B	Common	A	A¹	B	Common	A	A¹	B
French	4		3	4		3	3		2	4	4		1	2½	3			1	3½			1
Latin		6			6			5	6			4	6			3½	5			4	5	
Greek								3				3				4				3½		
History	1½			1½							2				2							
Geography	1			1			3½				1			½	1				3½			
Modern languages	3		3	3		3	3			4	3			4	1½		2	6	1½		2	6
Mathematics	2			2			3				3				4				3½			
Natural sciences	1½			1½			1				1											
Physics and chemistry															3				4			
Drawing	2			2			1½				1											
Art											½						½	½			½	½
	15	6	6	15	6	6	15	8	8	8	15½	7	7	7	14½	7½	7½	7½	16	7½	7½	7½
Total, each section	21			21			23				22½				22½				23½			

Classe de	Philosophie	Mathématiques
Philosophy	8½	3
History	2½	2
Geography	1	1
Literary studies	2	
Modern languages	2	2
Mathematics	1½	9
Physics and chemistry	4	5½
Natural sciences	2	2½
	24	25

academic year. In some schools there are special prizes for boarding and non-boarding students. To win a prize, needless to say, is not easy. In some schools the standards have been lifted to such heights that at times there is no prize-winner.

To determine the award of prizes a more or less regular procedure has been adopted. During every trimester at a given time designated by the head of the school, students in all subjects are made to prepare an essay in competition for the prize. These essays are then very carefully read, corrected, and graded. Usually a first prize winner must make not less than 14 or 15 out of a total possible of 20 points. Funds for the purchase of prizes are appropriated by the State. Contributions, however, also come from the municipality, the alumni, and societies of various kinds. In the days following the war it was not uncommon for parents to donate a prize in memory of a departed son.

The annual award of prizes is usually a gala occasion similar in some ways to an American college commencement. The entire student body as well as the faculty must be present, and the celebration generally takes place in a large tent pitched in the school yard, the *cour d'honneur*. There are, of course, the usual speeches, the chief address being delivered by the chairman who has been especially named for the occasion by the Minister. When the last rhetorical note finally fades into the air the prizes are distributed. Usually they are books, handsomely embellished in gold and generally recommended by the faculty.

g. **Clubs and societies.** In an atmosphere dominated by faculty control and supervision, free student activities do not, of course, flourish with ease. Extra-curricular activities in the grand American style are not a part of

the French secondary school. There are, however, a few clubs, mainly of an athletic nature. Every *lycée* is graced by an athletic organization which is made up of boys interested in sports, but especially Rugby football and tennis. Like all growing youngsters, the French secondary school boy is fond of athletics. His teachers, however, are not generally inclined to share his enthusiasm. Their attitude in the main is that sports are too easily overemphasized, that they may result in serious injuries, and that they are detrimental to scholarship. As a general rule those boys participating in athletics must have the written consent of their parents.

If student organizations do not always thrive, the same cannot be said of the alumni. The *Association d'Anciens Elèves* is found throughout the land. Well-organized, its members seek to perpetuate a cordial feeling towards their alma mater. In some schools, as has been said, they donate prizes to encourage scholarship. Here and there they have offered financial awards to permit foreign language students to spend some six to eight weeks abroad in the country whose language they are learning. The alumni of the *lycées* and *collèges* have formed a national organization which is becoming increasingly influential. It has played an active part in many of the questions which confront modern French secondary education. The *Amicales d'Anciens Elèves,* interestingly enough, has been agitating for more instruction regarding colonial matters, in which it has the warm support of the *Ligue Maritime et Coloniale Française.*

One other organization that should be mentioned in connection with secondary education is the *Fédération des Association des Parents d'Elèves des Lycées.* Interested in matters affecting the secondary school, this group in its conferences has discussed many important pedagog-

ical problems, as for example, the advantages and disadvantages of summer vacation, Latin instruction for girls, size of classes, use of textbooks, instruction in drawing, and so on. It is a connecting link of the first order between the home and the school.

h. Secondary education for girls. Though it was in the seventeenth century that Fénelon wrote his celebrated "Treatise on the Education of Girls" (*Traité de l'Education de Jeunes Filles*) in which he advocated reforms in the education of girls, and though political leaders of the French Revolution gave serious attention to the matter of feminine education, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the State set up a definite form of secondary education for girls. Prior to this, girls' secondary education had been dominated by private organizations, mostly of a religious nature. Such education, moreover, was meager, consisting of little more than elementary subject matter with a garnishing of singing, dancing, music, sewing, and the like. Various efforts on the part of the State to reform this situation had failed, chiefly because of the opposition of the clergy and their supporters. However, in 1880 conservative resistance was swept away through the enactment of a law sponsored by Camille Sée.

The *loi Camille Sée* marks the beginning of state secondary education for girls. It provided for the establishment of *lycées* and *collèges* for girls with five-year courses of three- and two-year periods respectively. While the schools for girls corresponded in name to those of the boys, and while there were also certain administrative likenesses, the curricula were quite different from those of the boys' schools. As organized in 1897, the course of study for the first three years consisted of moral instruction, French, modern language, history, geography, mathe-

matics, natural history, physics and chemistry, domestic science and hygiene, sewing, drawing, singing, and physical training. In the last two years the program called for moral instruction, psychology, French, ancient and modern foreign literatures in translations, modern language, history, geography, cosmography, common law, physics and chemistry, anatomy, physiology and hygiene. In addition a girl might elect mathematics, a second language, sewing, drawing, singing, and physical culture. The ancient classical languages, it will be noted, were not taught; nor did these schools prepare for the baccalaureate. In place of this the girls studied for the diploma of secondary education—*diplome de fin d'études*—which was awarded on the basis of an examination taken at the school. The diploma, unlike the baccalaureate, carried no real privileges; it did not admit to the universities. Those girls who wanted to enter the universities needed private preparation for the baccalaureate.

With the general changes in economic and social conditions, which manifested themselves in all countries in more or less similar ways, this type of secondary education became inadequate. More and more girls were seeking employment, and an increasing number desired the baccalaureate and access to the universities. In 1905, for example, the number of girls who took their baccalaureate in philosophy was 21; a decade later the number had risen to 447; in mathematics the number of successful candidates rose from five in 1905 to 55 in 1915. With the rising interest in the baccalaureate, and in response to pressure from parents, there gradually developed in the girls' *lycées* sections which sought to prepare them for the baccalaureate. While these sections performed a necessary service, their work was not on a par with that of the boys' schools.

A decree of March, 1924, reorganized the system of secondary education for girls. By it the regular five-year course was converted into a six-year course. Girls were to be permitted to study for either the first part of the baccalaureate, with or without Latin, or for the *diplome de fin d'études secondaires*. The program included French, modern languages, science, history, geography, and drawing. Girls studying for the diploma were required in addition to take courses in household management, handwork, music, ancient and modern foreign literatures in translation, psychology, and ethics. By an *arrêté* of July 10, 1925, the courses of study issued for boys' secondary schools were made applicable to girls' secondary schools, with modifications of the time-schedule as may be desirable because of their special needs.

Coeducation is not favored to any large extent in France, secondary schools being provided for boys and girls. Before 1930, girls were permitted to attend boys' schools only if no separate school was available for them in their community. In no case were they admitted to schools having an enrollment of more than two hundred pupils, and never was the number of girls to be more than fifty. A ministerial circular of February 4, 1930, modified this by permitting girls to attend any secondary school up to a maximum of fifty regardless of the number of boys enrolled. Should the number of girls exceed fifty a special school must be built for them.

5. The *école unique*

For many years there has been a very strong and active movement for the reform of public education in France. At bottom, one of its prime purposes was to introduce the doctrine of the *école unique*, a common, unified school for all pupils. Strong advocates of the *école unique* are

a group of war veterans, university men, who had joined under the title of the *Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle.* Too numerous to set down in detail, their pronouncements for educational reform have been ably expounded in their official journal, *La Solidarité.* Briefly summarized, these are as follows:

1. There should be more specialization in order to compete more successfully with foreign industry and commerce. Hence there should be more and better technical training. More attention should be given to local needs.
2. More attention should be devoted to schooling the masses.
3. The continuation school should be more efficient.
4. More and better education should be provided for girls.
5. All citizens of France should have an equal chance for higher education.
6. There should be free instruction in all grades: primary, secondary, and university.

Furthermore, the *Compagnons* demanded the introduction of the *école unique.*

To some extent the demands for reform have been realized. Thus, the curricula of the elementary classes of the *lycées* and the primary schools have been unified. For another thing, fees for day pupils in the secondary schools have been abolished. Furthermore, there is now a uniform system of awarding scholarships for secondary schools, postgraduate grades of the primary schools, and technical schools.[8]

C. Germany

1. Historical backgrounds

Before the World War German education operated on the principle of local state autonomy. The result is that there were many educational complexities. The various

[8] For a fuller discussion of the *école unique,* see Olinger, Lucienne, "Education in France," *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House,* p. 466 ff., April, 1935.

states had organized school systems which in their numerous details at times revealed considerable variety. But despite such differences, there was also a certain degree of similarity. The first large and efficient system of state education had been launched in Prussia, and since Prussia was a dominant state in Germany, its educational influence was inevitable.

As early as 1717 Frederick William I had promulgated a decree requiring children to attend school daily in winter wherever schools existed. In addition, if the youngsters could be spared from their chores during the summer, they were to attend school at least once a week. It was Frederick the Great, however, who set the cornerstone for the Prussian state system of education. By several decrees he overhauled education from top to bottom. The Code of 1763 asserted that "instruction of youth had become greatly neglected," and that "young people were growing up in stupidity and ignorance," and therefore all children between the ages of five and thirteen must go to school. In addition the Code of 1763 fixed and regulated such matters as hours of instruction, tuition fees, scholarships, curricula, textbooks, the licensing of teachers, and so on. It provided for a school census, as well as fines for parents who disobeyed the law.

Despite the fact that the royal arm was behind these regulations, they stirred up considerable opposition. Parents objected because they wanted their children to go to work. Many teachers were opposed to the Frederick measures because under the new requirements they were not eligible to teach. The clergy looked askance at the growing state control. The upper classes looked with contempt and mingled fears on the idea of educating the masses. At bottom, however, the regulations of 1763 were the foundation of the Prussian system.

The next significant step in the direction of the de-

velopment of a state system of education was taken in 1787 with the establishment of the *Oberschulkollegium*, a central board of school administration intended to replace the local church boards. Much more important, however, were some of the educational stipulations embodied in the celebrated General Code of 1794. The twelfth chapter is entirely devoted to education. Its most significant assertions read as follows:

> Schools and universities are state institutions, charged with the instruction of youth in useful information and scientific knowledge. Such institutions may be established only with the knowledge and consent of the state. All public schools and educational institutions are under the supervision of the state, and are at all times subject to its examination and inspection.

Following the death of Frederick the Great, Prussia steadily declined in power. As might be expected, education was affected by this gradual decay. The nadir of Prussia's power came in its overwhelming defeat by Napoleon in 1806 at Jena and the subsequent humiliating Treaty of Tilsit. Like the notorious Treaty of Versailles after the World War, that of Tilsit kindled an intense nationalism in Prussia, with the result that education was harnessed to the State more than ever. Relying on education, Prussian leaders sought to develop patriotic efficient citizens.

"We proceed," said the king's minister, Stein, "from the fundamental principle, to elevate the moral, religious, and patriotic spirit in the nation, to instil into it again courage, self-reliance, and readiness to sacrifice everything for national honor and for independence from the foreigners. . . . . To attain this end, we must rely on the education and instruction of the young." To attain these ends the whole system of education was overhauled and reformed. To get rid of clerical domination the *Oberschulkollegium*

was abolished and another body, a section of the Department of Interior, was organized. In 1809 the University of Berlin was founded. In the elementary school the main reforms came in newer methods and content. More attention was given to the training of teachers. In fact, in 1808 the Prussian Government sent seventeen teachers to Switzerland, paying their way for three years to study under Pestalozzi. In secondary education likewise there were numerous changes and reforms.

With the downfall of Napoleon, reaction set in in Prussia. Liberalism went into an eclipse and state control was made tighter than ever. In education liberal tendencies succumbed to the pressure of reaction. In 1848 an attempted revolution on the part of political liberals was frustrated by the government, and the screws of reaction were given a few more tightening twists. Even such a harmless thing as the kindergarten was suspect and put under the Prussian ban. The tide of reaction did not, of course, remain at flood height forever; but the recession was gradual. Not until after the establishment of the German Empire after the Franco-Prussian War was education inspected and renovated. Thus in 1872 a law was passed which, besides reaffirming the doctrine of state control, gave the elementary schools a new course of studies; nor were the secondary schools overlooked. As early as 1859 those *Realschulen* with a nine-year course, including Latin, were put on a par with the humanistic *Gymnasium*. In 1870 the graduates of the *Realschule* were to be admitted to the universities to study modern subjects and science. After 1870, Germany gradually became more and more industrial, and hence there was a growing need for industrial and technical education. At the same time, following its victory over France, Germany was becoming increasingly nationalistic, with

the result that there was a steady and increasing demand for greater stress on German culture in education. In the secondary schools concessions were gradually made along this line, but it was not until 1901 that the graduates of the three types of secondary schools, i.e., the *Gymnasium,* the *Realschule,* and the *Oberrealschule,* were to be admitted on equal terms to the university.[9]

2. Prewar elementary education

Given in what the Germans call the *Volksschule,* German elementary education before 1919 was universal, free, and compulsory. With minor variations, the compulsory period was usually eight years, beginning ordinarily when the child was six or seven. The school year usually lasted from forty to forty-two weeks, though in some rural sections concessions were sometimes made by the authorities. The weekly program ordinarily comprised from twenty to twenty-two hours in the lower grades to about thirty hours in the upper grades. The usual fundamental subjects were taught, and instruction therein was thorough and efficient. This, combined with the rigid enforcement of compulsory education, virtually made illiteracy nonexistent. Gymnastics held an important place in the curriculum. So, too, did religion. In addition there was instruction in drawing, nature study, and singing. In the more up-to-date schools, boys usually received some training in manual work, while girls were introduced to domestic science, with emphasis on sewing and cooking. Wherever economically possible, the sexes were taught separately. The teaching was done chiefly by men who had been excellently trained.

[9] Divinity students were required to know Greek, and hence they had to complete the gymnasial course. In the case of medical students, Latin being a requirement, they had to complete their work either at a *Gymnasium* or a *Realgymnasium.*

Not all German children attended the public *Volksschule*. Some, for example, went to the *Vorschule*, a three-year school charging tuition and preparing its pupils for the secondary school. Like many European lands, Germany had no educational ladder. Graduates of the *Volksschule* could not, without great inconvenience to themselves, enter the secondary school. To side-step this obstacle some children would attend the *Volksschule* for three years, and then at the age of nine they would transfer to the secondary school. This practice, however, was not relatively common. Of those who were graduated from the regular elementary school, only about one in ten thousand ever entered the secondary school. With the gradual development of education, and the realization that something more than the ordinary form of elementary education was desirable for the masses, elementary education had been slowly extended. Gradually an intermediate system had evolved to provide an advanced elementary education and part time vocational schools. The latter connected with a number of different types of vocational schools, extending even up to the normal schools for the training of elementary school teachers.

3. Prewar secondary education

a. Boys. Designed for the mental as well as the social elite, the secondary schools of Imperial Germany were of several kinds, depending on the length and nature of the courses given. There were three main types of secondary schools based on a nine-year course of study. There was, to begin, the *Gymnasium*, which was a product of the humanistic era, and which stressed Latin and Greek. Then there was the *Realgymnasium*, an attempted compromise between the advocates of the humanities and those who defended the realities. The *Realgymnasium*

required Latin but not Greek. Then there was also the *Oberrealschule.* This laid its chief stress on the modern subjects, particularly the sciences and mathematics. Instead of Latin and Greek, the *Oberrealschule* required modern languages. The differences among these schools is obviously one of curriculum, each stressing a particular specialty. It was not uncommon to find the *Realgymnasium* and *Oberrealschule* in one building. In addition to these full-fledged nine-year secondary schools, some communities also had partial six-year courses of study, covering the work of the first six years of the regular secondary schools. These were the *Progymnasium,* the *Realprogymnasium,* and the *Realschule.*

Secondary education usually began when the boy was nine. His preparation, as has been indicated, was generally not in the eight-year course of the public *Volksschule.* When the boy was about to enter the secondary school, he had to decide for one of the three types of curricula. A lad entering the *Oberrealschule* could not subsequently transfer to the *Gymnasium,* since in this school Latin was taught in the very first year; nor could he go from the *Realgymnasium* to the *Gymnasium* after his third year, since he would have had no Greek. To obviate these difficulties and others, a number of schools with a common basis had been developed. There was, for example, the *Reformschule,* established in Altona in 1878. Another was the Frankfort Plan, devised in 1890. Briefly, the reformed type of secondary school aimed to delay as long as possible the pupil's necessity for making a final choice. The reform idea was particularly attractive to some of the smaller communities, which it enabled to establish a fairly good-sized secondary school with a variety of courses. In addition to the regular secondary schools there were also a number of commercial and tech-

nical schools at the secondary level. The main difference between the systems of secondary and elementary education was not primarily social, but rather in the privileges and rights that they bestowed. For example, those boys who completed six years of secondary schooling were entitled to the *Einjährigerschein,* a certificate entitling them to one-year military service instead of two. Not only did it shorten the length of their period of military service, but it also opened the road to certain careers. Another significant difference between the two systems was that in practice admission to the universities was possible for only those who, through their secondary schooling, had been able to pass the *Reifeprüfung* or the *Abiturientenexamen.*

b. **Girls.** Secondary education for girls is a nineteenth-century creation. It was not until 1872 that Prussia began to give some real consideration to the problem with the establishment of a ten-year course, which a girl usually entered at the age of six. Extended and improved in 1894, the courses offered to girls were virtually on a par with those given in the boys' schools. In 1908 Prussia once more reorganized them. Once more a ten-year course was set up; and as before, the beginning age was six. The first three years were preparatory. The ten-year school was called the *Lyzeum.* Beyond it was the *Oberlyzeum.* Divided into two courses, this harbored the *Frauenschule* and the *Höheres Lehrerinnenseminar.* The former offered a two-year general course including household arts, kindergartening, needlework, languages, civics, economics, music, and art. The *Lehrerinnenseminar* offered a four-year course for prospective elementary school teachers. Those girls who wanted a secondary school course similar to that of the boys transferred at the age of thirteen to the *Studienanstalt,* which

GYMNASIUM

Subjects	VI	V	IV	U III	O III	U II	O II	U I	O I	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
German	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	29
Latin	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	48
Greek	..	..	..	6	6	6	6	5	5	34
Modern language	..	..	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	15
History (civics)	..	..	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	17
Geography	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Mathematics	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	31
Natural sciences	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
Drawing	2	2	2	1*	1*	1*	1*	1*	1*	12
Music	2	2	..	..	.	..	..	.	..	4
Total	24	24	26	27	27	27	28	28	27	238

* Two hours every two weeks.

REALGYMNASIUM

Subjects	VI	V	IV	U III	O III	U II	O II	U I	O I	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
German	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	29
Latin	6	6	6	4	4	3	3	3	3	38
1st modern language	..	..	3	4	4	4	4(3)	4(3)	4(3)	27(24)*
2nd modern language	..	..	..	4	4	3	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)	20(23)*
History (civics)	..	..	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	18
Geography	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	36
Natural sciences	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	23
Drawing	2	2	2	2	1**	1**	1**	1**	1**	13
Music	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Total	24	24	26	28	27	27	27	27	28	238

* The figures in parentheses apply when English is the first modern language.
** Two hours every two weeks.

REFORMREALGYMNASIUM

Subjects	VI	V	IV	U III	O III	U II	O II	U I	O I	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
German	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	33
Latin	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	4	4	16
1st modern language	6	6	6	5	5	3	4(3)	4(3)	4(3)	43(40)*
2nd modern language	..	..	..	5	5	3	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)	22(25)*
History (civics)	..	..	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	19
Geography	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	13
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	36
Natural sciences	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	22
Drawing	2	2	2	1**	1**	1**	1**	1**	1**	12
Music	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Total	25	25	25	26	26	27	28	28	28	238

* The figures in parentheses apply when English is the first modern language.
** Two hours every two weeks.

OBERREALSCHULE

Subjects	VI	V	IV	U III	O III	U II	O II	U I	O I	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
German	5	5	5	3	3	3	4	4	3	35
1st modern language	6	6	6	5	5	3	3	3	3	40
2nd modern language	..	..	..	5	5	3	3	3	3	22
History (civics)	..	..	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	19
Geography	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	13
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	40
Natural sciences	2	2	2	2	2	6	5	6	6	33
Drawing	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1*	1*	14
Music	2	2	..	..	..	.	.	..	..	4
Total	25	25	25	26	26	28	28	28	27	238

* Two hours every two weeks.

DEUTSCHE OBERSCHULE

Subjects	VI	V	IV	U III	O III	U II	O II	U I	O I	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
German	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	39
1st modern language	6	6	6	5	5	4	4(3)	4(3)	4(3)	44(41)*
2nd modern language	..	..	..	..	..	4	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)	13(16)*
History (civics)	..	..	2	3	3	3	4	4	4	23
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	36
Natural Sciences	2	2	2	4	4	3	3	4	4	28
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	1**	1**	1**	15
Music	2	2	..	.	..		.	.	.	4
Total	25	25	25	26	26	28	27	28	28	238

* The figures in parentheses apply when Latin or French is the second modern language.
** Two hours every two weeks.

AUFBAUSCHULE

Type	Deutsche Oberschule						
Subjects	U III	O III	U II	O II	U I	O I	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
German	5	5	5	4	4	4	27
1st modern language	7	6	4	4(3)	4(3)	4(3)	29(26)*
2nd modern language	..	..	4	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)	13(16)*
History (civics)	3	3	3	4	4	4	21
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Mathematics	5	4	4	4	4	4	25
Natural sciences	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
Drawing	2	2	1**	2	2	2	11
Total	30	28	29	29	29	29	174

* The figures in parentheses apply when Latin or French is the second foreign language.
** Two hours every two weeks.

TOTAL TIME DISTRIBUTION BY SUBJECTS IN EACH TYPE OF SCHOOL

Subjects	Gym	Rgym.	Reform Rgym.	OR.	D O.	Aufbauschule OR.	Aufbauschule D.O.
Religion	18	18	18	18	18	12	12
German	29	29	33	35	39	24	27
Latin	48	38	16	..	..	..	..
Greek	34	..	..	..	..	..	..
1st modern language	15	27(24)	43(40)	40	44(41)	28(26)	29(26)
2nd modern language	..	20(23)	22(25)	22	13(16)	14(16)	13(16)
History (civics)	17	18	19	19	23	18	21
Geography	12	12	13	13	18	8	12
Mathematics	31	36	36	40	36	31	25
Natural sciences	18	23	22	33	28	30	24
Drawing	12	13	12	14	15	9	11
Music	4	4	4	4	4	..	..
Total	238	238	238	238	238	174	174

offered courses of study similar to those of the *Gymnasium, Realgymnasium,* and *Oberrealschule.* Girls were not asked to undertake the study of Latin until they were thirteen; and Greek was postponed for another two years. But French was usually started at nine, and English at twelve. Secondary schooling for girls, as in the case of the boys, was not free.

c. Criticism. Though the secondary schools had been reformed on several occasions, criticism continued. There were, of course, many attacks on their heavy stress on the academic intellectual phase of education. Their continued emphasis on the classics had also developed a growing opposition. Secondary education was attacked by many who were convinced that it failed to give adequate consideration to modern life in an industrial technical age. Still others criticized the secondary schools because they failed to give proper recognition to German life and culture. Another criticism was leveled at the schools' organization: what was wanted was a common school system, with better articulation with the elementary school. The World War stimulated the movement for more drastic reforms which were to be based on the needs of German national culture. In addition there was also a movement for a common school—the *Einheitsschule.* Under the slogan "One Nation! One School!," the advocates of a common school system demanded the extension of educational opportunities with a common educational foundation for all up to the age of twelve, and the organization of diverse secondary school courses with enough variety to meet the needs and abilities of the pupils.

4. The German Constitution of 1919

Devoting an entire part to education, the Weimar Constitution of August 11, 1919, laid the foundation of a new reformed system of education. Fundamentally, the general principle embodied in the new constitution's educational clauses is that art and science and the teaching thereof should have every liberty of action. Public school teachers were state employees with the rights, duties, and privileges of the same. School supervision was to be in the hands of lay and professional school men. Education was compulsory for at least eight years, and was to be followed by attendance at the continuation school. A common four-year foundation school, known as the *Grundschule,* was established with attendance compulsory for all children. The *Vorschule,* the private preparatory school which some children attended before their admission to the secondary school, was to be abolished. Public moneys could be voted by the various states and localities to assist poor parents in sending their children to the middle and secondary schools. Civics and manual training were to be incorporated as a part of the school's work. A goal of education in all schools was "a moral education, a sense of responsibility to the state, individual and professional efficiency in the spirit of German nationality and of international reconciliation." Religion, as in the imperial era, was deemed part of the school curriculum. But it was no longer a required subject. Communities, as a matter of fact, were given the right of local option in the matter of religious education. They had the constitutional right to establish schools according to the particular religious creeds of the school patrons.

5. The religious question

The Socialists, who were in power right after the Revolution, were opposed to religious instruction and, if they could have had their way, would have discontinued such instruction. But on the other hand were to be considered the interests of those who felt that without religious instruction the schools would be unfit for their work. Both factions generated considerable heat in their struggle. In the end a compromise was effected between the extremists, and the religious-educational clauses of the constitution took a middle road.

Viewed from the religious standpoint there were three types of elementary schools: interdenominational, sectarian, and secular. The interdenominational, known as the *Simultanschule,* was intended for children from various denominations. It taught the lay subjects without any regard to creed. But for his lesson in religion, each pupil went for instruction according to the demands of his particular creed; and this instruction, moreover, was given by a teacher of the particular faith concerned. On the surface the *Simultanschule* appears broad and tolerant. Unfortunately, the school was assailed on all sides. The Socialists, for one thing, were opposed to it in principle, for what they desired was a completely secularized school. The clergy, on the other hand, objected to it because it did not teach the lay subjects from the denominational point of view.

6. The Grundschule

As has been indicated, the Weimar Constitution provided for the establishment of a common four-year foundation school known as the *Grundschule.* This was to be a public school and attendance therein was compulsory.

In 1920 and 1921 there was some federal legislation and also some suggestions with regard to the *Grundschule.* These marked the end of federal influence on elementary education; in fact, even some of these were supplemented

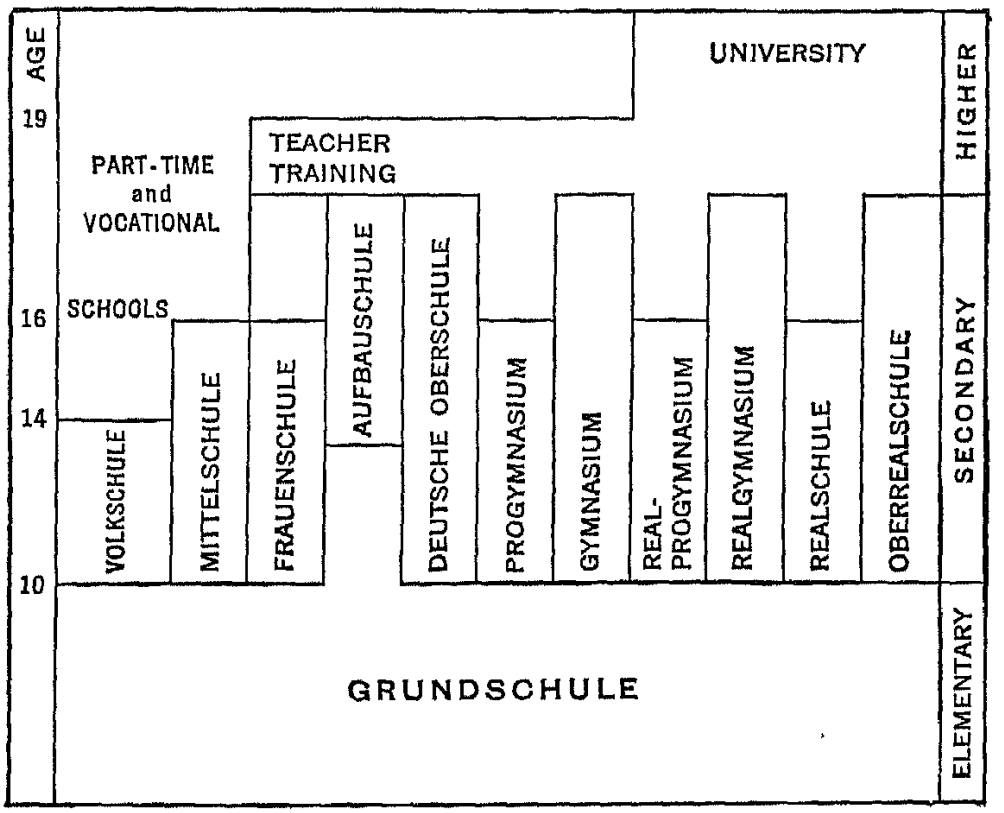


Fig. 5. The Schools of Germany. (From *Education in a Democracy,* by Myers and Williams. Copyright by Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1937.)

by state suggestions. By a law of April 18, 1925, three years' attendance at the *Grundschule* was made permissive. By the federal decree of July 18, 1921, the aim of the *Grundschule* is:

> The first four years of school have their own goal and unified sphere of activity. Their goal is the gradual unfolding of the child's abilities out of the instinct for play and movement toward a normal desire for work which manifests itself inside the school community.

The *Grundschule* was to give to its pupils not only the basic training necessary for the work involved in the last four years of the elementary school, but also for that of the middle and secondary schools. Besides the three R's and religion, the child was instructed in drawing, singing, physical training, and manual work. During the first year instruction was organized on an integrated basis—

TIME-SCHEDULE OF THE GRUNDSCHULE

Subject	Year 1*	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Religion		4	4	4
Environmental study (*Heimatkunde*)		9	10	11 (10)**
German				
Writing		2	2	2
Arithmetic		4	4	4
Drawing			2 (1)	2 (1)
Singing		1	2 (1)	2
Physical training		2	2	3 (2)
Sewing			(2)	(2)
Total	18	22	26	28

* The work of the first year is organized as an integrated whole (*Gesamtunterricht*).
** The figures in parentheses are for girls only.

Gesamtunterricht. Considerable attention was given to studying the environment. Known as *Heimatkunde,* this focused on such familiar things as life and work in the home, school, yard, garden, market, the countryside, farm, factory, shop, and so on. *Heimatkunde* furnished the content for nature study, geography, history, local legends, customs, and traditions. In the *Grundschule* the child was to learn on the basis of activity, the school being looked upon as an activity school (*Arbeitsschule*) rather than the traditional subject-matter school (*Lernschule*). Children were expected to learn how to observe, how to use their eyes and hands, and for this purpose they participated in simple manual activities. Physical training, incidentally, was taught in the broad sense, and

included games, gymnastics, and walks, besides swimming, skating, and other things.

7. The *Oberstufe*

The four upper classes of the elementary school constitute the *Oberstufe*. Together with the *Grundschule*, the *Oberstufe* forms a complete whole. The subjects taught were religion, German history and civics, natural history, arithmetic, geometry, geography, drawing, singing, gymnastics, and, in the case of girls, sewing. Wherever possible there was manual work for boys and household work for girls. Most elementary schools (i.e., the *Grundschule* plus the *Oberstufe*) had an eight-year course of study, though Bavaria and Wurtemberg had a seven-year course; Schleswig-Holstein, Brunswick, and Oldenburg had a nine-class system. In the *Oberstufe* self-activity continued to be stressed. Likewise education continued along liberal lines, stressing a harmonious development of the child's whole personality. At the same time, however, the fact was to be borne in mind that for most pupils completion of the *Oberstufe* would be the end of their full-time education, and that most of them would then take up some practical career. In its instruction the school stressed the child's direct experience, supplementing this, however, with the use of books, libraries, and museums. School excursions were no novelty in the pre-war German school; but in Republican Germany they were more common, and took on a greater educational significance. Throughout Germany youth hostels had been established where, at a very nominal cost, youthful hikers and their teachers could be accommodated. Interestingly enough, there were no examinations in the Prussian elementary school either at the end of the year or at the end of the course, promotions being made on the

TIME-SCHEDULE OF UPPER SECTION OF THE VOLKSSCHULE

	Boys' School				Girls' School			
SUBJECT	5	6	7	8	5	6	7	8
Religion	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
German	8	7	6-7	6-7	7-8	7	6-7	6-7
History and civics	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	3
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Natural science	2	3-4	4	3	2	2-3	3	3
Arithmetic / Geometry	4-5	5-6	5-6	5-6	3-4	4	4	3
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Physical training	2-3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3
Manual training	2	2	2	2	..	..		..
Sewing	..	..	..	..	2	2-3	2-3	2-3
Total	28-30	30-32	30-32	30-32	28-30	30-32	30-32	30-32

class teachers' recommendations with the approval of the teachers' council.

8. Intermediate education

Like most European countries, Germany gave some educational recognition to the needs of those children who wished a longer and more advanced elementary school course. For these children intermediate schools had been established. Their standard of work was higher than that of the elementary school, but not comparable to that of the secondary school. Prussia offered intermediate education in the *Mittelschule,* an organization descended from the nineteenth-century *Bürgerschule,* an advanced elementary school charging tuition, and the *Latein-* or *Rektoralschule,* lower secondary schools, charging fees, and maintained in the smaller localities. By a decree of June 1, 1925, the system of intermediate education received new regulations. Though regulated and recognized by the state authorities, the middle schools were established and maintained by the localities or by private organizations.

Admitting children who had completed the *Grundschule,* the intermediate schools offered a six-year program leading to the *mittlere Reife* or intermediate qualifying certificate. In some of the smaller localities the middle schools took the place of the lower and middle classes of the secondary schools. The intermediate school's first three years were common to all pupils, but the last half of the six-year program offered differentiated programs, including (1) a general program for boys, (2) a general program for girls, (3) a specialized program for boys, with stress on commerce and trade, or industry, (4) a program for girls with special consideration to trade and commerce, domestic economy, or social service, and (5) a program of

secondary studies for boys and girls. Localities that could not provide this variety of work were expected to provide the general course only. Those intermediate schools designed to lead into the secondary schools included a second foreign language in their work, and their curriculum in general followed that of the regular nonclassical schools. In many respects the middle school resembles the American high school.

9. Secondary education

Republican Germany kept its prewar trinity of secondary schools, the *Gymnasium, Realgymnasium,* and *Oberrealschule.* In addition, the *Aufbauschule* and the *Deutsche Oberschule* grew in popularity. As before the World War, German secondary education sought to give training leading to the state certificate qualifying its holders for study in the university or higher schools. Some of the secondary schools had a nine-year course of study, coming immediately after the *Grundschule.* The *Aufbauschule* was a six-year school, following the completion of the seventh year of the elementary school. The *Gymnasium* continued its humanistic emphasis, requiring nine years of Latin and six of Greek. The *Realgymnasium* continued to require Latin, but devoted more time to Western culture. Where the school gave more consideration to modern foreign languages, it was generally known as a *Reform-Realgymnasium.* The *Oberrealschule,* as before the war, put its chief stress on the sciences. The *Deutsche Oberschule,* also a nine-year school, required two modern foreign languages. True to its name it stressed German culture. Normally, a child entering a nine-year secondary school would be about ten years old; where he entered the *Aufbauschule* he was ordinarily about thir-

teen. The normal age for finishing secondary school was nineteen.

For girls, secondary education was not identical to that of the boys. There were, as a matter of fact, several types of schools for the girls. However, in all cases the first three years had the same program and included one foreign language. Differentiation took place in the intermediate and upper classes. Like the boys, girls studied in nine-year schools. The school comparable to the *Gymnasium* was the *Gymnasiale Studienanstalt.* This required six years of Latin, four of Greek and French. The *Oberlyzeum* bestowed more attention on the modern languages. In addition there was the *Oberlyzeum der Oberrealschulrichtung,* which like the boys' *Oberrealschule* focused on the sciences. Corresponding to the six-year boys' *Realschule* was the *Lyzeum,* whose program could be completed by one or two years of study at the *Frauenschule,* or by three years at the *Frauenoberschule.* However, the work of this school did not lead to the qualifying certificate for higher studies, though after specialized preparations girls could become teachers in vocational training schools, or schools of industrial art. In addition to the foregoing institutions, there was also the *Deutsche Oberschule* whose work corresponded to that of the boys' school by the same name. In all German states, girls could be admitted to a secondary school for boys when it was too difficult for them to attend a girls' school. Particularly was this important in those cases where girls wished to prepare for higher education and there was no girls' school within their locality.

Secondary schools could be either public or private, but in all instances they were subject to state control. The schools were not free, though there were numerous schol-

arships. Publicly administered secondary schools could belong to the State or to municipalities or to legally recognized corporations.

In contrast to the prewar system of secondary education, that of the republic was inclined to be more liberal, more progressive, and more democratic. The prewar system had been intellectually and socially selective. In the absence of articulation with the elementary school, the prewar secondary school had relied on the private preparatory school—the *Vorschule*—to prepare the children for admission. Not only was there a gap between the elementary and secondary schools, but ever since the late nineteenth century there had been a marked tendency for each type of secondary school to cultivate its own specialized identity, without any consideration for the development of a common foundation between the various types. The opportunities for transfer from one type to another were not readily available. The demands for a reorganization of the entire secondary school system after the war failed; likewise the movement for a common elementary school for all up to the age of twelve. However, as has already been noted, a common four-year *Grundschule* leading to the secondary school was adopted. To some extent, moreover, opportunities to attend the secondary school were augmented by provisions for maintenance grants, scholarships, and the reduction of fees. Nonetheless, secondary education continued in the main to be selective. Under the impact of a stern economic competition, moreover, and the difficulty of obtaining employment, the secondary schools began to attract more and more students.

Another common charge against the prewar secondary school was that it had overstressed intellectualism, putting a premium on mental work of a narrow sort rather

than on a broad liberal culture and the development of personality. Under the republic, liberal education continued to be interpreted as before the war; nor was there any attempt to make the schools more practical, or vocational or technical. Foreign languages, the mother tongue, history and geography, science and mathematics were still looked upon as the essence of a broad general culture. However, though the general cultural ideal remained practically unchanged, there was a perceptible change in the organization of subjects for national and social purposes. Facing the new republic was the immense task of developing an education that would foster loyalty to the new form of government. To promote a sense of national solidarity the principle of *Heimatkunde* —a study of one's environment—was used as a basis for curriculum construction in the elementary school and, as far as feasible, in the secondary school. In the latter instance *Heimatkunde* was approached broadly, including national and foreign factors that had entered into German culture. Then, too, there was a marked trend towards *Deutschtum,* a greater stress on German culture and civilization. Regulations issued in 1924 to govern the revision of the curricula and the courses of study in the Prussian secondary schools stressed the fact that subjects were to be organized in such way as to contribute to an enrichment of national culture. But this, of course, was not to be the only goal: the pupil's personality was to be given adequate consideration.

10. The Youth Movement

Designated by Förster as a "moral rejuvenescence of the German people," the Youth Movement—*Jugendbewegung*—is essentially a German movement. As a matter of fact, the English historian, Professor George

P. Gooch, has declared the Youth Movement to be "an exclusively German phenomenon." The germ of the movement was cultivated in 1896 in a classical *Gymnasium* at Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin, when the magnetic Karl Fischer gathered under his aegis a number of students who were anxious for a larger freedom than that offered in their conventional classical school. Some eight years later Fischer organized the *Wandervögel,* forming at the same time a council of parents to help him in his work. Moved somewhat by a back-to-nature idea, these young people spent much of their free time in the open, trekking into the country, making acquaintance with the peasants, learning folk songs and folk dances. Sometimes they would hike for days and weeks at a time. Gradually the movement spread, and slowly it developed from an experiment in living into a philosophy of life—a *Weltanschauung* which reacted against all the trivial and artificial baubles and banalities of a mechanized and materialized industrialism. Power and pleasure, wealth and social prestige were scornfully cast aside. In place of these shattered idols the *Wandervögel* and other associations of youth believed above all in the spiritual freedom of the individual. Assembled in 1913 on the Hohe Meissner, not far from Cassel, some two thousand young Germans constituting the *Freideutsche Jugend* proclaimed that it would "determine its life on its own initiative, its own responsibility, with inner sincerity. We shall turn our back on ugly conventions and moral inertia of the established order. For this inner freedom we stand under all circumstances."

At the outset of the World War the Youth Movement had quickened its development. The *Freideutsche Jugend* was nonpolitical, and had no religious commitments. Bound by common ideals, these youths in the main

shunned tobacco and alcohol; they substituted the open air for the dingy *Bierstube;* and above all they were convinced of their right of self-determination. Not that they were windy pacifists, avoiding their patriotic responsibilities to the Fatherland. Quite the contrary is demonstrated by their war record: some ten thousand *Wandervögel* served in the war and of these two thousand were killed. During the cataclysm an attempt was made to keep in touch with the members of the movement serving in the field by the publication in 1915 of a journal, *Die freideutsche Jugend.* In 1917 a "Jugendtag" was held on the celebrated Lorelei, and it was attended by a large number of young soldiers on leave. Before and during a great part of the war the movement had been seared neither by religion nor politics. True, the young people were opposed on the whole to the Empire's super-nationalism; but beyond that their ideals transcended the national. But the Revolution after the war planted the seeds of politics, resulting ultimately in the organization of the *Jungdeutsche Bund,* a nationalistic group of the *Freideutsche Jugend.*

Much criticism—some deserved and some grossly undeserved—has been fired at the *Jugendbewegung.* Because of its stand against the conventional, the Youth Movement has often seemed to the more conservative and older generation as necessarily immoral. Its lack of reverence for authority aroused hostility; likewise its scant interest in creed and dogma. The comradeship between the sexes favored by some sections of the Youth Movement drew intense criticism. Yet despite its many obvious flaws and excesses, the Youth Movement is on the whole a movement of value. This must have been realized by the German churches when they became interested in the movement. At several universities a num-

ber of Protestant branches were organized. In the Catholic Church the movement took a deep hold, due among other things to the Church's independence from the State, its deep antipathy for the stiff Prussian tradition, and also its own rich and colorful past. In time the Catholic youth organizations outnumbered those of their rivals. The various members were organized into groups, such as the "Quickborn," "Grossquickborn," "Hochland," and "Jungborn." Quickborn sprang from a temperance organization at Neisse and was for boys and girls from the secondary schools. Grossquickborn was intended for those entering the industrial world, while Hochland was for those entering the university. Jungborn was for the working youth. Each local group of these various organizations strove to have its own home, a humble and broken-down mill or a tumbling castle. Quickborn had its headquarters at the Castle Rotenfels on the Main.

There was also a socialist Youth Movement which, as might be expected, was interested primarily in internal politics. Launched in the early years of the twentieth century as a branch of the party, the socialist Youth Movement had attracted some one hundred thousand members at the outbreak of the war. With the coming of peace the organization split, and a rival organization, *Die Freie Sozialistische Jugend,* was formed.

Separated from its trivialities, the Youth Movement left a significant mark. Begun in part as a protest against the school's heavy intellectualism, it struck a keynote for greater educational liberalism. It sought the realization of spiritual liberty, the assertion of an individual's worth, and a return to the simplicities of life. It focused on the cultivation of *Deutschtum* of a genuine sort based on experience and contact with things, rather than through classroom memorization and drill.

11. The *Arbeitsschule*

In Article 148 the Weimar Constitution injected *Arbeitsunterricht* into the republic's school system. Unfortunately, the use of the term was not too lucid. Scores of German school men had endorsed the *Arbeitsschule;* yet there was considerable difference of opinion as to what such a school should be. There were those, like Kerschensteiner for instance, who saw in the *Arbeitsschule* a doing- or activity-school, which, through its methods and organization, developed good citizens by liberating the child's "potential mental energy." A demand was made for productive work in the form of manual training. There were others, like Hugo Gaudig, for example, who were more concerned with the pupil himself than with his relationship to the State. They contended that learning by doing should not be restricted to physical activity, but that it should permeate the child's entire activity to include also his mental self-activity. In accordance with this idea the classroom was to become a workshop where the child acquired knowledges and abilities through self-activity and participation. It was not a place where knowledge was poured in; it was a place where a child was guided; where a technique was given; and where, by virtue of this acquisition, one was able to obtain further knowledges and abilities.

As might be expected, the vagueness of the Constitution with regard to *Arbeitsunterricht* furnished a splendid grindstone for the whetting of the various political axes. After considerable talk and no little obfuscation a statement was issued by the Ministry of Public Education, then under Haenisch, wherein it was explained that a merely external acquisition of knowledge was not desirable if there were no inner reaction on the part of the learner. All instruction was to stress and foster the rela-

tionship existing between the child and his home. Self-activity—mental as well as physical—was to be emphasized on all occasions. In other words, the *Arbeitsschule* and the method it employed was to become, as far as possible, a recognized part of the republic school system.

12. The *Einheitsschule*

Opposed to the former Empire's dual system of education, the *Einheitsschule* demanded common instruction, fairly uniform in content, for all children through most of their elementary school career. Unfortunately, little was done in Republican Germany to realize the hopes of the advocates of such a system. As usual, educators disagreed as to what might constitute the best kind of *Einheitsschule.* In principle, however, it was based on the doctrine of *Ein Volk—eine Schule,* or "One people—one school." An approach to such a common system was made by the establishment of the four-year *Grundschule,* which was compulsory for all children. As has already been pointed out, at the end of this common instructional period differentiation began. Beyond the common *Grundschule,* the admission of superior pupils to the secondary schools was facilitated by the reduction of tuition fees and an increase in the number of available scholarships. In addition, the *Aufbauschule* (page 332) was organized for those bright children who did not enter the traditional secondary school at the age of ten. And as has been said before, the private preparatory *Vorschule* was abolished.

13. Education under National Socialism

a. Beginnings. Long before Hitler and his party rose to eminence, the National Socialists were planning far-reaching educational changes. Some of these had been

hinted at in the Führer's book, *Mein Kampf*. One of the first educational decrees under the Nazi regime was issued March 17, 1933. Significantly enough, it held that "Germanic culture must be treated thoroughly." The fact that "in the school of the Marxian system (i.e., the republic) German pre-history found no fitting place" was to be remedied by an increased attention to the early Germans. The practice of writers ever since Tacitus to label these early Teutons was to be opposed. In its subsequent elaborate instructions concerning history texts, the Ministry of the Interior reaffirmed this stand, holding that German pre-history was "pre-eminently national learning (*Wissenschaft*)," than which "no other is better suited to counteract the traditional undervaluation of the cultural heights of our ancestors." Stress was to be put on "the national idea in contrast to the international, whose lingering poison for more than a hundred years has been threatening to destroy the German soul."

b. **Race.** The same ministerial instructions gave considerable attention to the all-important question of race: "From primitive times through all later millennia to the present the significance of race must be given a fitting consideration." Also: "The history of Europe is the work of Aryan peoples . . . . ," and "the highly developed Aryan basal language has crowded out the languages of the other European races up to a few remnants." Furthermore: "Not until the work of the originally Aryan Hindus, Medes, Persians, as well as the Hittites, was the history of western Asia definitely influenced. The pupil must experience the fates of these peoples as those of his own blood, who in the end are destroyed because of the predominance of foreign racial blood, but only after they (i.e., the Aryan Hindus, etc.) had created high civilizations in India and Persia." In studying the ancient

Greeks "once again it should be stressed that we are dealing with our closest racial brethren." Both the history of Greece and that of northern Italy were to be studied with Central Europe as a starting point "so that the racial relationship will be felt."

Rassenkunde (race science) is given a place of the first order in the school curriculum. In fact, a major part of what used to be biology is now *Rassenkunde;* nor have health education and physical training escaped the racial stress. A good part of it is, of course, highly dubious, at least in a strict scientific sense. One commonly used text asserts that ". . . . the mixture of people of German stock with foreign races must be rejected unconditionally. . . . . The mixture of Germans with Jews is disastrous. . . . . Jewish traits are wholly opposed to the most valuable German traits. . . . . No poem of Heinrich Heine can be read without perceiving that only too clearly!"

Under the general heading of race science, pupils are taught to identify the various racial types. They are taught to observe the features of pictures cast on the screen. "This man," the accompanying explanation indicates, "has a Nordic forehead, his nose, however, is inclined to be Dinaric, and the chin is clearly Falian. . . . ." After having learned to identify various racial characteristics, pupils analyze one another's features. Outside of school the work is sometimes carried into the home and into the homes of their friends and relatives.

c. Modern history. Naturally, the Nazis assigned a significant place to modern history. "The last two decades of our own times are to be a leading chapter in the study of history. The monstrous experience of the World War with the heroic struggle of the German people against a world of foes, the disintegration of our power of resistance through forces hostile to the Fatherland, the

humiliation of our people by the Versailles dictate, and the subsequent breakdown of the liberalistic-Marxian philosophy are to be treated just as thoroughly as the nation's nascent awakening from the Ruhr struggle to the penetration of the National Socialist concept of freedom and the restoration of the German nation on the Day of Potsdam."

Interesting is the way these general ministerial directions are being applied in practice. The Hamburg school officials, for example, prepared a detailed program for the guidance of history teachers. Almost melodramatic, this was divided into two parts: "Germany in Chains" and "Germany Awakes." The first part was further divided into such topics as the War Breakdown, Peace Dictate, Nation Without Honor, Nation Without Territory, Nation Without Defense, Pillage of the Nation (by the Allies), Temporary Structure of the Nation (i.e., the republic), and Tribute Vassalage. Under these headings the pupils were taught among other things that "despite the breakdown of the allied (Central Powers) there was a heroic final struggle, and an orderly retreat on the western front." The army was dissolved "by dagger thrusts from home." Concerning the Revolution which generated the republic, the Hamburg teacher was enjoined to "contrast the November crime as a Marxian revolt, or disintegration, with the National Socialist Revolution or reorganization."

Under the section "Germany Awakes" the Hamburg pupils are taught about the rise and achievements of Hitler and his party. "The German post-war struggle for freedom is to be treated in the spirit of Adolf Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*." The leaders, symbols, program, and organization of the Nazi party are to be studied. Special consideration must be bestowed on the fundamental Nazi

tenets of "nation, race, culture, state and church." While a limited number of dates is still to be learned, the memorization of slogans is preferable—such a slogan, as for example: "We need colonies!" (*Wir brauchen Kolonien!*)

That history in the guise of "Germany Awakes" is national and political propaganda is plain. As a matter of fact, the Nazis have been quite frank about admitting this, as the following sentence from the Hamburg instructions indicate: "The primacy of politics, in history especially, must come to the relief of pedagogy. Propaganda and education today operate together. . . . ." And: "Out of enthusiasm for the national movement historical discernment is to lead to a determination to co-operate politically." And again: "Since the contemporary themes serve particularly to educate the German nationally and politically, the teacher must lead his pupils to take definite positions, which from an external as well as internal political standpoint will clearly contrast friend and foe. At the same time the educational authorities expect every teacher to become positively identified with National Socialism."

d. **Geography.** Almost as significant as history in the German's national and political education is geography. Thus the decree of March 17th, besides stressing the importance of German pre-history, also lamented that German children often knew more about foreign lands than about the Fatherland; and that too often they were inclined to overrate the former at the expense of the latter. To attend to these matters the decree of June 7, 1933, was specially promulgated. This regulated study-trips in Germany and abroad. The latter may be "undertaken only by such students who have previously participated in trips through their native land . . . . and who have acquired an adequate understanding of their own

Fatherland, and who possess the requisite maturity to consider foreign peoples critically." Pupils are to be encouraged to travel in Germany "to gain an impressionable picture of the German native land." Trips to East Prussia are especially recommended due "to the peculiar situation of the border lands and the educational value of such trips." Another function of the study tour abroad is "to create a closer relationship between the [native] German youth and that of German blood living in border or foreign soils."

The fact that something like a third of the Germans live outside the boundaries of the Reich receives constant stress. Every child must contribute to the fund for the *Auslandsdeutschtum,* and numerous detailed pamphlets suggest methods of working the *"koloniale Gedanke"* (the idea of colonies) into every subject. To awaken the German to a closer relationship with his national kinsmen abroad, a series of texts was published under the title "The German in Foreign Lands" (*Der Deutsche im Auslande*). Some of the titles in this series are "The German in Peru," "The German in Mexico," "The German in the Volga Land," "The German in Transcaucasia," and so on. The final goal of any study-trip "is an increased national consciousness."

e. Physical training. During the Republican regime the schools had stressed physical training as a phase of a well-rounded education. Under the Nazis physical training received even more stress. In fact, in the Nazi educational scheme the body comes first; character next; and the intellect last. Before Germany rearmed, the Nationalist Socialist school gave considerable attention to physical training as a form of pre-military training. What is known as *Geländesport* was made compulsory for all. This was a form of athletic activity in the open

country, and included marching, running, leaping over obstacles, and so on. The ideal in physical training, as indeed, in all Nazi education, is the soldier—the *"soldatische Mensch."* The citizen, the cultured individual, is as despised as democracy. The liberal is denounced as a pacifist and a coward. "The soldier and the worker demand struggle. . . . . His origin is blood, iron, and fire. . . . . The citizen is the type of a past age. . . . . The fundamental law of the soldierly man is fighting. . . . . A state that can demonstrate hardness and brutality is . . . . racially sound. We . . . . who have realized our German mission, who see our problem as a sacred duty, want to be soldiers—lords in the service of our Führer for Germany."

f. Secondary education. Several decrees affecting secondary education have been issued. As in the lower schools, the stress is to be on things German. "The national will is to receive that strengthening which he (the student himself) has so long desired, but which he never dared to display openly," comments the *Pädagogisches Zentralblatt* in its analysis of the new orders. State-operated secondary schools were to be run as National Socialist *Erziehungsstätten*—"places of education." In Prussia the former cadet schools were re-established even before the Reich announced its rearming. During the Republican regime these schools had been transformed into up-to-date, progressive boarding schools, putting a premium on the student's fullest individual development.

An innovation in German secondary education was the *Arbeitsdienst*, or labor service. Originally on a voluntary basis, the *Arbeitsdienst* is now compulsory. It was open to all secondary school graduates before they began their higher studies, or before they entered on a vocation. In the main the student's labor takes the form of land rec-

lamation projects. At least a month and a half were set aside for concentrated physical training. According to a pronouncement from the Ministry of the Interior "this training begins with a testing of the physical capacities gained in the period of labor service. The participants will be schooled in *Geländesport* with drills and marches . . . . and exercises of all kinds as well as shooting weapons of small calibre." Originating before the Reich's reinstitution of compulsory military service, the *Arbeitsdienst* was intended in the main as a mild form of pre-military training. The students live together in barracks, are subject to a form of military discipline, and wear a special uniform.

Under the Nazis the humanities have received less stress than in former days. In the classical *Gymnasium* English has received more stress than before. In February, 1937, Minister of Education Rust announced that English would be the leading modern foreign language in the *Mittelschule*. Latin, curiously enough, has not been immune to Nazification. Thus, the aim of instruction in ancient languages has been set down as: (1) to make the pupil conscious of the physical and spiritual powers of the Nordic race in all forms and expressions of the kindred Greeks and Romans; (2) to arouse the will of the race from the knowledge that the loss of racial consciousness caused the downfall of the Greeks and Romans. The latter, incidentally, have been classified by the Nazis as "Nordic, heroic, political" men, who lifted themselves to greatness because of their race, but whose success was undermined by the infiltration of alien, oriental elements, which caused racial degeneration and decadence.

g. **Restriction of enrollment.** One of the most significant laws affecting German education came into being April 25, 1933. This restricted enrollment in all schools,

elementary as well as higher. At the beginning of the school year the authorities were to decide "how many pupils may be admitted to each school and how many students to each university faculty." To check the overcrowding of professions the number of students was to be decreased. The law applied to both public and private schools. Through the law, moreover, it was a simple thing to regulate the number of non-Aryan students attending school. In the words of the *Pädagogisches Zentralblatt:* "The predominance of the Jew in the leading state positions is hereby broken; for it is absurd that Germans should be ruled by an alien race having only guest privileges in our country. An education for German national consciousness is possible only through genuine German citizens." Since 1933 the plight of the non-Aryan in Nazi Germany has, of course, become steadily worse, so that today his educational opportunities have been vastly decreased.

h. Teachers. To assure itself of a body of sympathetic teachers, able and willing to teach in the Nazi spirit, the Third Reich has thoroughly overhauled its training of teachers. By ministerial decree the Republican normal school, known as the Pedagogic Academy (*Pädagogische Akademie*) has been re-christened the Higher School for Teacher Training (*Hochschule für Lehrerbildung*). Interestingly enough, the discarded name, consisting as it did of two words of non-German origin, was not looked upon with favor. More important, however, than this baptismal change is the fact that "the teacher is no longer to be trained as a citizen of the world who was to educate youth for the international ideals of humanity, but instead he is to become a genuine teacher, bound to the Fatherland, who will lead youth to a real German national consciousness." Though the

teaching profession is crowded, the Nazis opened several new normal schools. One of the first to be launched was, significantly enough, at Lauenburg, Pomerania. It is to become a cultural-political bulwark against the Corridor. In his dedicating address at the ceremonies opening the new school, Minister of Education Rust epitomized the Reich's new policy in teacher training. "Teachers," he asserted, "must know that their pupils are to be judged according to race. Our teachers will learn something about our boundaries, study races and military geography instead of social and industrial sciences and novelties." The contemporary German elementary school teacher is "not to grasp at cultural forms which must be rejected by National Socialism as unsuitable." Furthermore, the teacher is to be prepared for a modern German school which "is to function in the spirit of our great field-gray army and is to see that a whole people in its totality is brought up with this thought in mind." The fact that normal school students wear the Nazi brown shirt is significant. These future teachers, in the words of Minister Rust, are "the Storm Troop leaders of German national education." The Hessian Ministry of Education was one of the first to transform these words into reality by declaring that "only he may become an educator who up to his 35th year . . . . has served in the ranks of the Storm Troops. Unless this requirement is fulfilled no one may expect to be called into the service of the State." Today all candidates for teaching posts must have been *active* National Socialists. All teachers must be "politically reliable." They are, of course, all regimented as cogs in the totalitarian machine, and must belong to the National Socialist organization for teachers.

i. **Youth and the party.** It should be obvious that Nazi education lays considerable stress on the "heroic."

The personality of the Führer, while ubiquitous throughout the Reich, is in particular evidence in the school. Every classroom displays his picture—and each one is different; his bust is placed in every school vestibule, in every corridor, and every auditorium. Passages from *Mein Kampf* strike one's eyes everywhere. They have been painted on the school walls; in fact, they even have been carved into stone. That they form the basis for essays goes without saying. Indeed, they are even used for themes on the *Reifeprüfung,* the examination which is taken after the completion of secondary school. The Nazi salute is, of course, everywhere, every class from the kindergarten to the university being started and ended with the class standing at attention and saying "Heil Hitler!" Every time a pupil or teacher enters or leaves the room he must use this greeting.

Prominent in the training of Germany's youth are the Hitler Youth organizations. These are for boys and girls, and membership is now compulsory between the ages of ten and eighteen. Unlike the original German Youth Movement, the Hitler Youth movement is not an attempt to liberate the individual personality. On the contrary it seeks to train the young Germans to become dynamic Nazis. These boys and girls have their own distinctive uniforms. In addition there are the Adolf Hitler Schools. Launched in 1937, these are for superior boys from the age of twelve on, who are to be trained to carry on the leadership of the party when they grow up. Another school to train National Socialist leaders is the *Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt.*

j. **Reduction of schooling.** The National Socialist Government has steadily reduced the number of years of instruction of children taking the complete elementary and higher courses which prepare for entrance into uni-

versities. The last step in this process of reducing the time for schooling was announced in the fall of 1936, when Minister of Education Rust announced that the thirteen-year course required for preparatory school graduation would be reduced to twelve. Previously the Ministry had issued a ruling abolishing the sixth school-day in each week, which was to be used for training in athletics and in learning National Socialist ideas. At the same time, however, an effort was made to retain the six-day study plan. By the institution of a rather complex system, the beginning of the school week was to come on a different day each week, but at the end of the school year the pupil, through this system, actually had only thirty-three weeks of instruction instead of forty. Spread over twelve years of the child's schooling this decrease adds up to about two years, so that with the recent cut of one year, the child has in effect lost three years. In view of the vast amount of time and energy that Germany's youth must devote to athletics and political activities, both in and out of school hours, the reduction of time to be used for the regular course of studies has raised serious problems with regard to the quality of scholastic achievements possible under present conditions.

k. Summary. That German education is something quite different from what it was during the Republican epoch is apparent. Briefly, education under the Nazis has become extremely nationalistic. It frankly looks upon the school as a breeding place of active nationalism —a nationalism which is eventually to make Germany the greatest nation in the world. This school obviously can not be pacifistic; on the contrary its ideal is that of the army. All the familiar military virtues are held up for emulation. Under the Nazi regime, furthermore, the school has been harnessed to the political ideology of

National Socialism. Political propaganda and education have become handmaidens, and the school is expected to fashion one-hundred-percent Nazis. If the school is glowingly pro-Nazi, it is also emphatically anti-Marxian. Obviously vague, this term is often employed by Nazi school men simply to indicate their opposition to pedagogical principles once deemed highly progressive in the pre-Hitler era. Under the cloak of anti-Marxism, the Nazis have ruined some of Germany's best experimental or progressive schools, such as Odenwald, *Wickersdorf*, and many others. That Nazi education is violently pro-Nordic and anti-Semitic is, of course, well known. With the elimination of all independent institutions of learning, the suppression of Catholic parochial schools, and the compulsory participation in the work of extra-school organizations, virtually no non-Aryan German under twenty-five can escape the most comprehensive, intensive, and efficient indoctrination ever devised by a nation.

D. Italy

1. Historical background

Slightly more than a decade before the birth of modern Italy, the Kingdom of Sardinia laid the cornerstone of the peninsula's latter-day educational structure. This was in 1859 when the Casati Law was enacted. Under this law, which was subsequently applied to the Kingdom of Italy, the provision of elementary education was left to the municipalities which were provincial or local capitals, and to districts having a population of more than ten thousand. The law, interestingly enough, required compulsory school attendance for only three years. Since the localities did not receive state aid, they

were not too keen about enforcing the details of the law. The Casati Law also laid the cornerstone for the secondary school system which included the classical *ginnasi-licei* and technical institutes preparing for the normal schools and the universities. In 1877 the Coppino Act extended the period of compulsory school attendance from three to four years. It was not until 1904 that the period of attendance was further extended to six years in the larger communities. The fact that there was considerable illiteracy finally induced the State to grant aid. At the same time it bestowed privileges, such as the suffrage, the right to carry arms, and to secure work in the public services, upon those who had completed the elementary course. In 1906 schools with two or three daily sessions as well as traveling schools were established in an endeavor to bring elementary education to the scattered population of southern Italy. Five years later the Daneo-Credaro Law was passed in an effort to improve the bad conditions revealed by examinations, the inferior preparation of teachers, and the shortness of the courses.

Despite these various legislative attempts at educational improvement, progress, particularly in the realm of elementary education, continued to be negligible. School attendance was poor. Of those attending school, moreover, only some sixty per cent completed their courses under the most favorable conditions. The usual handmaiden of poor school attendance is illiteracy, and in this respect Italy was no exception, the percentage of illiteracy ranging from 11 per cent in Piedmont to 70 per cent in Calabria. School administration on the whole was inefficient; teachers were poorly prepared; classes were unevenly distributed in size; teaching was

inefficient; and on the whole, public opinion was not particularly interested in the development of an up-to-date and efficient public school system.

2. Secondary education before the World War

The foundations of Italian secondary education, as has been said, were laid by the Casati Law of 1859. Seeking to break the classical monopoly, this law established diversified courses, reorganizing the classical school, and founding technical institutes and normal schools. However, the highroad to advanced study was open only to pupils from the classical *ginnasi-licei,* and to those who had completed the work of a special section for mathematics and physics given in the technical institutes and preparing for the university faculties of mathematics, physical, and natural sciences. During the last part of the nineteenth century, six *licei moderni* were launched as an experiment. In these, German and French were added to the existing curriculum of the classical schools. It was not until after 1904 that modern sections were organized in the classical schools.

Prewar secondary schools fall into three types. Of these the classical *ginnasi-licei* were traditional, and no doubt the most esteemed. An eight-year course was offered, of which five years were spent in the *ginnasio,* and three in the *liceo.* As might be expected, the curriculum was classical. More modern were the newer secondary schools without Latin and Greek and also the technical schools. Of these, the *scuola tecnica* with its three-year curriculum sought to prepare its students for the lower civil service and commercial positions. French was the usual foreign language. On the whole the course of study leaned to the more practical side, and for this reason the *scuola tecnica* was making rapid strides to-

wards greater public esteem. In 1914 the registration for these schools was more than 110,000 as compared with some 72,000 for the classical schools. Upon completion of the three years of the *scuola tecnica,* students continued in a higher technical institute, known as the *istituto tecnico.* Here a four-year course of study, divided into three sections, was offered. The third type of secondary school was the normal school, the *scuola normale,* which offered a three-year course of study to prepare the student for teaching. There was also a two-year preparatory course known as the *corso magistrale.*

As in other countries, secondary education in Italy during the first three decades of the twentieth century was marked by considerable unrest. Not only were its aims and curricula under fire, but several other of its aspects were criticized. For one thing, it was decidedly the intellectual side of education that was stressed. Everywhere encyclopedic knowledge seemed to be the chief goal; and drill and cramming the means to the end. If intellect was stressed, then the other aspects of an all-round education were minimized; nor was the secondary school teaching profession any too lustrous. On the whole, teachers were poorly paid and overburdened. They tended, moreover, to be narrow specialists in their own particular subject. As far as examinations were concerned, interestingly enough, pupils were examined by their own teachers without any outside check; furthermore, only those pupils who had failed to obtain a minimum mark of six out of a possible ten were examined. Pupils of private schools had to turn to the public schools for their examinations, and they were questioned on their entire school program. This was obviously a discrimination and tended to put the public schools at an advantage.

3. The reform program

Accentuated during the course of the World War, the defects of Italian education loomed large. More than ever, serious thinkers became aware of Italy's educational inadequacy. Not that progressive educational thinking had been lacking formerly. Unfortunately, however, it had been generally confined to the intelligentsia, and for this reason it never had been able to sway the majority of Italians. With the advance and spread of the movement for school reform numerous programs were set up by educational societies. Among them, one of the most far-reaching was that proposed by the National Union of Italian Teachers. Their plan, in fact, received the approval of the educational minister as well as the commendation of the committee on education in the Chamber of Deputies. Among other things, the National Union recommended: (1) a decrease in the length of the elementary school course with a thorough revision of the curricula; (2) a curtailment of the number of pupils under one teacher, the number being fixed at twenty-five; (3) an increase in teachers' salaries; (4) an improvement in the elementary school teacher's professional preparation; (5) more stringent enforcement of compulsory education; (6) better adjustment of the school to local needs and conditions.

In 1918, by royal decree, a commission was organized to study the type of education best fitted to meet the nation's numerous postwar problems. Headed by the Minister of Public Instruction and composed of members of the Higher Council, in addition to eminent Italian educators, this group undertook an exhaustive study of Italian education. Its recommendations were characterized by much good sense, and in some respects resembled the suggestions previously made by the National Union

of Italian Teachers. The commission advocated: (1) the establishment of at least one compulsory school of four grades in every commune; (2) the fixing of eighteen years as the final leaving age of pupils; (3) the lengthening of the school year; (4) the organic inclusion within the state system of education of nursery schools and kindergartens; (5) the raising of the teacher's minimum salary; (6) the establishment of special secondary schools for the preliminary professional training of teachers; (7) the creation of compulsory schools for illiterate adults up to the age of forty-five.

4. Giovanni Gentile and educational reform

Philosopher, professor, writer, and statesman, Giovanni Gentile has left his mark on the history of twentieth-century Italian education. Born in 1875, Gentile, after studying law at the University of Pisa, became Professor of Philosophy in the secondary schools of Campobasso and Naples. His first outstanding philosophical work was *La Rinascita dell' Idealismo* (The Rebirth of Idealism). Later, with Benedetto Croce, he launched the *Critica,* which among other things expounded ideas for the reform of Italian education. Subsequently he become Professor of Philosophy at the University of Palermo, then Pisa, and Rome. A prolific writer, Gentile wrote numerous works on philosophy and education, his most famous in the latter domain being *La Riforma dell' Educaziona,* which has been translated into English. Appointed Minister of Public Instruction in 1922 in the first Mussolini cabinet, Gentile was granted unconditional powers, and with the help of Lombardo-Radice he undertook the reform of the Italian school system.

In education Gentile is a burning nationalist. Philosophically he is under the spell of Neo-Hegelianism.

Schools, Gentile has asserted, should be used for national ends and for the making of Fascists:

> . . . . The State is not a system of hindrances and external juridical controls from which men flee, but an ethical being which . . . . manifests its personality and achieves its historical growth in human society. Thus it is conscious not of being hedged in by special limits, but of being open, ready, and capable of expanding as a collective and yet individual will. The nation is that will, conscious of itself and of its own historical past, which, as we formulate it in our minds, divines and delineates our nationality, generating an end to be attained, a mission to be realized. For that will, in case of need, our lives are sacrificed, for our lives are genuine, worthy, and endowed with incontestable value only as they are spent in the accomplishment of that mission.
>
> The State's active and dynamic consciousness is a system of thought, of ideas, of interests to be satisfied and of morality to be realized. Hence the State is, as it ought to be, a teacher; it maintains and develops schools to promote this morality. In the school, the State comes to a consciousness of its real being.*

To put these and other theories into practice a series of decrees was issued, beginning in 1923. Generally these measures are known as the Gentile Reform. In harmony with Mussolini's pronouncement that there can be no morals without religion, and that Italy is Catholic, the Gentile regulations have recognized religious instruction in the public schools. For Gentile, incidentally, religion is "the foundation and complement of all elementary subjects."

Formative education and a moral personality furnish the key to Gentile's educational aims. Gentile, in other words, was opposed to the pedantry and intellectualism which had hung itself on Italian education. Neither abstract learning nor instrumental knowledge, he felt, leads the way to true education. Accordingly, it should not be surprising to witness a complete overhauling of

*Circular dated November 2, 1922. Quoted and translated in Schneider, H. W., and Clough, S. B., *Making Fascists*, p. 85, Chicago, 1929.

the course of study as well as of textbooks. By a decree of March 11, 1923, interestingly enough, textbooks not on the official list could nonetheless be used under certain conditions. But all pedantic books were barred. Popular literature and folk traditions were stressed. To offset an over-intellectualistic education, more attention was to be given to hygiene and physical training. Hailed by Mussolini as the "most Fascist of the Fascist reforms," the work of Gentile in reforming Italian education stands out as one of the most significant contributions to twentieth-century Italian education.

5. Elementary education

Attendance at the elementary school is today compulsory, though it is not entirely universal. Divided into three grades, or levels, elementary education comprises a preparatory, lower, and higher section. Up to 1930 these divisions were supplemented by a pre-vocational course of two years, but in that year such work was transferred to the domain of lower secondary education. Compulsory education begins at six and continues to fourteen, the length of the school year being fixed at ten months. Private schools may be established by persons who have the same qualifications as teachers in the public schools. Such schools, needless to say, are subject to the watchful control of the State. For children between the ages of three and six there are preschools, which are recognized as the preparatory stage of elementary education. Strictly speaking, the preschool is no novelty in Italy, the Froebelian kindergarten and the Montessori school having existed for quite some time. Such schools in the past, however, have generally been private. Because of the intense interest of the Fascist regime in the early education of children, it is not surprising to note

a great and rapid increase in the provisions made for the education of children between the ages of three and six. According to the regulations, "the preparatory stage is recreational in character, and aims to train the first manifestations of intellect and character. . . . ." Divided into thirty-five short weekly periods, the course includes simple prayers, singing of nursery and patriotic tunes, gymnastics and rhythmics, simple work in plastic and manual activities, gardening, care of animals, elementary general information, reading, recitation, and dramatization. The schools on the whole are characterized by an absence of formalism. Unfortunately, thus far the number of children in preschools is still relatively small.

The work of the lower stage in the regular elementary school includes religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, the metric system, oral translation from the local dialect into standard Italian, simple geography, general information with particular provision for experiences in industrial and agricultural work, and a knowledge of works of art, records, and monuments. In the higher grades the pupil studies the work of the lower stage in greater detail. In addition he also studies the history of the Catholic religion. In addition there is history, some simple geometry, elementary science, applied design, and physical education.

6. Secondary education

Very few children continue their education beyond their first five years. Of those who go on, some enter the so-called *corsi integrativi,* while others attend any one of a number of post-elementary schools, which may be either cultural or vocational in emphasis. Those who continue their education on a full-time basis usually enter the

DISTRIBUTION OF AND ADVANCEMENT IN THE COURSES OF STUDY

Kindergarten

Elementary School

Work School

Vocational School	Artisan School	High School	High School	Art Vocational School*	Girls' High School**
Technical School	Agr. Indus. Surv. & Nautical experts	Scientific Lyceum	Classical Lyceum	Commercial Technical Institute	Teachers Institute
	After 5 yr. course & an integrating exam. students are admitted to related scientific univ. faculties	Law, politics, econ. with integrating exam. Other faculties without integ. exam. Letters & normal school faculties excluded	Letters, Law, Politics. All other faculties by int. exam. Normal school faculty excluded	Econ. Commerce Statistics. Politics with int. exam.	Competitive exam. for normal faculty. Econ. & comm. for degree in foreign languages without int. exam.

* The Art Vocational School leads to the Art School with a five-year program and to the Art Institute with an eight-year program, to art lyceums and academies.

** Girls' High School (gymnasium) leads to the Normal Institute.

scuola complementare, a supplementary school comparable to the English central school, the French *école primaire supérieure,* and the German *Mittelschule.* In essence it is a higher elementary school offering a three-year general course. Its students, by passing an extra examination, were allowed to enter a kindergarten training school, a normal school, or the lower section of a technical school. In 1930 the *scuola complementare,* together with the higher grade (*corso superiore*) of the elementary school, as has been said, was transferred to the secondary school level as the *scuola di avviamento al lavoro.* Seeking to give post-elementary education to children who have finished the upper course of the elementary school, or who are ten years old and have passed an entrance examination for the secondary school, the *scuola di avviamento al lavoro* stresses vocational work and prepares its students for trade, commerce, agriculture, and industry.

Under the leadership of Gentile, secondary education was reconstructed in 1923. Looked upon as a privilege based on the pupil's ability, secondary education is selective. By the decree of May 6, 1923, a variety of schools with particular goals, all based on the primary school, was established. Besides the *scuola complementare,* which has already been mentioned, secondary education includes: (1) the classical school, or *liceo-ginnasio,* offering an eight-year course, and admitting its graduates to the universities; (2) the scientific, *liceo scientifico,* offering a four-year course to pupils having completed four years of a *ginnasio* or the lower section of a technical institute, and admitting its graduates to the scientific or medical faculties in the universities or to schools of engineering, pharmacy, or architecture; (3) the technical institute, or *instituto tecnico,* with an eight-year course

divided into two equal periods, completion of whose common foundation course permits the pupil to choose either a commercial and accounting course, or one in surveying, or he may enter the scientific *liceo;* (4) the normal school, or *instituto magistrale,* with a seven-year course, permitting its graduates to teach in the elementary schools or to enter a higher normal school for advanced work; (5) the secondary school for girls, the *liceo femminile,* with a three-year course for those girls who have completed four years of a *ginnasio* or a technical institute or the first four years of the normal school.

In addition a new type of vocational secondary school, the *scuola secondaria di avviamento al lavoro,* was established by a decree of October 6, 1930. Divided into two grades these schools are to take the place of the *corso integrativo* or elementary senior schools and the *scuola complementare.* Schools of the first grade include the continuation school, the lower courses of the *ginnasio,* the normal school, and the technical institute; those of the second grade include the classical and scientific *licei,* the girls' secondary school, and the higher courses of the technical institute and normal schools.

7. School co-operatives

As in France, school co-operatives have for some time played an important part in Italian education. During the recent past their number and activities have increased considerably. Under the Fascist totalitarian scheme these various groups have been incorporated as public agencies under the supervision of a national organization, the *Ente Nazionale per la Mutualita Scolastica.*

8. The Balilla

One of the most significant agencies for the advancement of physical and recreational improvement is the

Opera Nazionale Balilla. Its name, *Balilla,* refers to the nickname of a heroic youth who fought against Austria in the mid-eighteenth century. The organization grew out of the *Avanguardia Fascista,* a group of young Fascists who were combatting the Communists in Milan. In 1922 the *Gruppo Balilla* was founded for boys between eight and fourteen. Four years later the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* was legally incorporated as a Fascist Party organization with aid from the Ministry of the Interior. Dedicated to the physical and moral development of youth according to Fascist principles, the organization is above all nationalistic and Fascist. Boys enter at the age of eight as members of the *Gruppo Balilla;* after fourteen they become members of the *Avanguardia Fascista.* The *Balilla* organization is in many respects similar to youth organizations of like nature in Germany and Russia. At bottom, their chief reason for being is to prepare the youth for a preconceived social-political order. The *Balilla,* from their beginning, had a military complexion, being organized into troops, companies, centuries, cohorts, and legions. Their training comprises not only military tactics, but includes training in aviation, skiing, naval exercises, and cycling. A distinctive uniform is worn by the members of the *Balilla* when they participate in any festival, or when they go on their hikes or take part in any of their activities, or even while attending school. The organization is, however, much more than pre-military in scope. At bottom, it stretches its influence over virtually every domain affecting the growing citizen, including his mind, his body, and his spirit. Despite its obvious regimentation and indoctrination, it has had a salutary effect on the general development of Italy's Fascist youth. For girls there is a similar organization known as the *Piccole Italiane,* for girls between eight and

fourteen, and the *Giovani Italiane,* for those from fourteen to eighteen. In 1927 the Ministry of Education asked teachers to urge boys to join the *Balilla,* and three years later the *Opera Nazionale Balilla,* including the girl groups, was placed under the Ministry of National Education. Some 3,000,000 youthful Italians are enrolled in the organization.

E. Russia

1. Educational development under the Czars

Of the large European nations Russia was dilatory in developing an up-to-date national system of education. True, some rulers, like Peter the Great and Catherine II, were earnestly interested in advancing education. The former, in fact, has been called the father of Russian public education; while the latter gave particular attention to the education of girls. While the foundations of education were laid in the eighteenth century, progress was slow. Particularly was this the case under the more reactionary rulers. On the whole, Russian education was the embodiment of the principle formulated by Minister of Education Shiskov during the reign of Alexander I in the early nineteenth century: "To teach the mass of people, or even the majority of them, how to read will bring more harm than good." The Church, too, took a reactionary stand towards popular education, and because educational control was divided between the Ministry of Education and the Holy Synod, the Church was able to exert no little influence.

In the late nineteenth century, with the rise of industry, schools began to be more generally established. The revolution of 1905 brought about some educational changes. Three years later large grants were made to elementary

education, with the result that the number of schools rapidly increased. From this time to the outbreak of the World War the efforts to improve the Russian educational scheme were increased. At the beginning of the war Russia had more than six million children attending school. There were over 100,000 free primary schools, some 1,600 intermediate, and 2,500 secondary schools. The number of vocational schools was approximately 2,800, and they were attended by something like one quarter-million pupils, outside of commercial students.

Despite the authorities' belated efforts at educational reconstruction, they came too late to do much good. In 1914 Russian education was still built on a religious foundation. The school was not generally attended by the masses, but was shot through with class distinction. The old school was largely academic and formal, particularly in the upper levels. Though a scheme had been drafted in 1912 to make elementary education compulsory and universal within fifteen years, it came to nought. Whatever school attendance existed was small; and with it went the usual accompaniment of a large illiteracy. Indeed, when the Communists took up the reins of government, something like seventy to seventy-five per cent of the populace were illiterate.

2. Education in Soviet Russia

With the advent of the new order in Russia, education, as might be expected, was destined to be completely overhauled. In a general way the new communistic state harnessed the school to the needs of the State. In October, 1917, it proclaimed that education in the new Russia must include (1) the liquidation of illiteracy, (2) free, universal, secular, and compulsory education, (3) a maximum educational opportunity for all, (4) preparation of

a trained body of teachers, and (5) adequate support of education. That it was not easy for the new State to carry out these ideas should be obvious. Particularly was this the case from 1917 to 1921, when the Communist State was fighting for its existence. Still, progress,

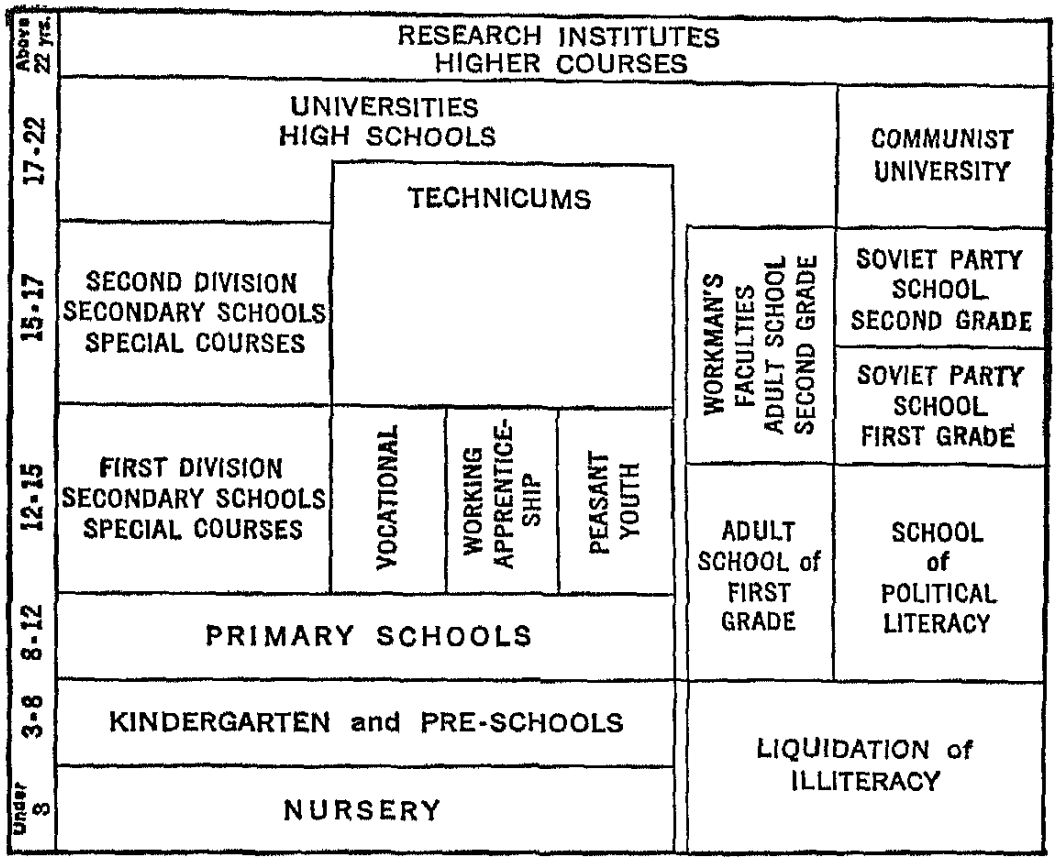


Fig. 6. The Schools of Russia. (From *Education in a Democracy*, by Myers and Williams. Copyright by Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1937.)

though at first somewhat slow, nonetheless was steady. Today the U.S.S.R. has an educational ladder. For youngsters under three there is a nursery. Then up to the age of eight come the kindergarten and other pre-school institutions. Primary education is given in a unified labor school, offering a four-year course for children eight to twelve years old. Primary schools are referred to as schools of the first grade; they are followed

by schools of the second grade, which may be attached to schools of the first grade, continuing for three additional years, or they may be independent. In addition to this, some schools offer two-year courses, which may be vocational, preparing the student for factory or office work, or they may be of such nature as to prepare the student for higher education. Besides these schools there is another system by which the children from the primary schools may continue their schooling for three years in institutions connected with factories, trades, or workshops. In 1927 schools for peasant youth were established. These are seven-year schools. They may include the primary school, or the last three years may be separate.

For students who have completed a seven-year course further training is available in three- and four-year specialized technicums. These offer courses leading to industry, agriculture, business management, arts and crafts, including music and the theater, nursing, social service, teaching, and so on. Finally there are the universities and higher institutions of a specialized character.

The Communist regime has given considerable attention to the problem of adult education. For grownups several types of education are available. Most important of all is the attempt to liquidate illiteracy. This has been doing a magnificent job and has been steadily decreasing Russia's illiteracy. In addition there are adult schools dedicated to vocational education, and to what is generally known as a cultural-political education.

3. The reconstruction of curricula and methods

Starting with a clean slate, communist educators undertook to revise education along up-to-date progressive lines. Briefly stated by the Russians themselves, educa-

tion was to mean (1) active participation in the building of their own lives; (2) stress on socially useful labor; (3) establishment of intimate connections with contemporary life; (4) the study of nature and the development of a materialistic outlook. Education was to be on the basis of activity, with the "complex method," a form of the project method, receiving special stress. In addition the Dalton Plan was adopted in many places. Furthermore, student self-government was installed on a generous scale. American educators, visiting Russia to view the reconstructed schools, while often flatly disagreeing with the Soviets' political and economic ideals, were, on the other hand, often most enthusiastic about the "progressiveness of Russia's new education."

When the Soviets first began to install their reconstructed education there were, as might be expected, numerous objections. Usually, however, these were ascribed to educational conservatism. But in any educational tilt the government generally had the final say, and so it was usually possible to brush conservative objections aside. Thus, while controversies might wage over the various aspects of Progressive Education, the authorities continued to apply many of its principles. But their attitude in the main was experimental, and whenever anything was found not to be producing the desired communistic results it was scrapped.

Despite what the authorities decreed, however, protests against some of the newer practices did not submerge. Indeed, as the years went by, the mutterings against them gathered more and more force. Not only did teachers here and there voice their objections to some of the new doings, but even in important party conclaves doubts were increasingly cast on various aspects of Russia's new education. The Dalton Plan and the Project

Method in particular seemed to be suspect. The latter, wrote Bubnov, a noted communist authority, was after all an American method "designed to educate an individualist who is able to stay afloat in a society based on competition." Doubt was also raised by some of the results produced by the newer methods. In the Don region, for example, official investigations revealed that more than half the children of a given school were wholly unable to copy a simple dictated passage. In fact, one-third of the pupils could not write even one sentence without making a mistake. The first vigorous official blast against the newer procedures came late in 1931 when the Central Committee of the Communist Party decreed that "no one method should be accepted as fundamental." Furthermore, the commissariats of education in the various Soviet republics were ordered "to liquidate the perversions of the laboratory method," which was obviously a blow aimed at the Dalton Plan as it was being applied in Russia. In addition the committee provided that hereafter "the accepted form of teaching in both the elementary and secondary schools must be classroom recitation based on a strict schedule and designed for a definite group of pupils." The teacher, furthermore, was no longer merely "to guide and advise." Instead, the committee now directed him to present his subject "in a systematic and sequential way, the pupils to be trained in the use of the textbooks."

If the Dalton Plan and the Project Method were subjected to these attacks, then so was the idea of pupil freedom. Not only was the child made to attend classes according to a fixed schedule, but he was to master fundamentals thoroughly. To insure this, the committee decreed that "a final examination at the end of the year is compulsory for all pupils." Pupil self-govern-

ment was also restricted. Principals and teachers were once more graced with authority and were made "responsible for the maintenance of discipline among the pupils." Furthermore, "incorrigible pupils who insult the school personnel, violate the school rules, and are guilty of destroying school property," may be expelled.

4. Educating the young child

As has already been indicated, Soviet Russia has made the early education of the child an integral part of its educational system. Preschool education carries the child through the period during which, in America, he would be in the first or second grade, and lasts until he is eight years old. It is given in three types of institutions: creches or nurseries, kindergartens, and hearths. The creches, which are attached to factories where women are employed, are nurseries caring for young babes while their mothers work. The care of children under three is a duty of the People's Health Commissariat. Generally speaking, the caliber of the creche is quite high.

One of the outstanding creches is that connected with the tobacco factory at Rostov. Here the child is usually received at the age of two months, when the mother returns to her work in the factory. The work is essentially practical, emphasizing health, hygiene, and the development of social and personal habits. The children are given regular meals prepared by experts. Caring for the children is a staff of doctors, nurses, and teachers, of whom the latter have received special training for nursery and preschool work.

The hearths and kindergartens, which are quite similar in their work, supplement the work of the nursery. They care for children between the ages of three and eight, and lay great stress on cleanliness, health, and habit

formation. They are open the whole day, receiving children as early as six o'clock in the morning.

The main principles of preschool education have been recorded as follows:

> (1) Orientation with reference to labor and labor education; (2) close contact with contemporary life; (3) building the child's life, utilizing to the greatest possible extent his own participation; (4) development of the materialistic conceptions; (5) nearness to nature; (6) realism in the content of discussions with children and in their stories; (7) introduction of certain organizing centers into the daily activities of the children; (8) acceptance of certain ideas, from the number of principles of the old preschool education, such as the great value of games for children . . . . and to a certain extent of didactic materials of Montessori. Activity, self-activity and realism (materialism)—these are the slogans of the new kindergartens.*

In the preschool the child is initiated into the elementary forms of self-service and gradually is led into more social types of labor. Children help to keep things tidy and clean; they assist at the tables, care for animals, work in the garden, shovel snow, and participate in dozens of other activities. Much stress is laid on nature. In their various studies, the children make their own collections, and on their hikes and excursions they search for flowers, insects, stones, and all sorts of things which not only appeal to the childish eye and heart but are also instructive. Children are taught to note the relations between the things they see growing and their actual use in everyday life. The children themselves grow things—often, where possible, vegetables that the kindergarten requires; and usually they also raise animals. Every kindergarten has some kind of a workshop, which is often built by the children themselves.

As far as possible the child's education is related to

* Pinkevitch, A. P., "Development of Public Instruction and Pedagogical Thought in Russia," *Educational Outlook*, May, 1931, p. 199.

the actual living world. The children make frequent trips to places of interest and importance. Shoemakers are visited; blacksmiths' shops and farms of all sorts are inspected. If a carpenter or an electrician comes to the school, the children are encouraged to observe him at work.

Of predominant influence in the school is the national stress put on collective activity. In conformance with this, the older groups hold meetings, elect a school soviet, select committees, and confer jointly with their parents and teachers. Every effort is made to prepare the children for a co-operative life.

Creative and aesthetic expression are also highly stressed. The older groups record their impressions and their daily activities in drawings; and, as in many other new schools, these drawings are sometimes placed on the walls, where they become a sort of mural newspaper. Music, singing, dancing, and rhythmics are other notable features of the curriculum.

At the age of seven the child begins his work with grammar and arithmetic, which are taught, however, not as separate subjects, but as part of other activities. Considerable attention has been given to the development of a child literature that does not restrict itself to any particular educational level, but covers the child's whole life. Obviously the old Czarist books would be irreconcilable with Communist ideology. Pedagogically, too, they are out of date. An attempt is made to present the actual world to the learner, depicting the various phases of the new order. Classified under five heads, the contents of the Russian child's literature comprise: (1) the child's environment; (2) the world of machines and inventions; (3) stories from far and near, old and new; (4) riddles and stories to test and direct perception; (5) im-

aginative entertainment. Books reflecting the child's own world consider such matters as plant and animal life, health and hygiene, toys and their makers, pets and children's organizations. Their main purpose is to offer the child material which is instructive and at the same time entertaining. Most of the books, of course, serve as vehicles of indoctrination. In arithmetic, for example, the child wrestles with problems of the Five Year Plan, of prices charged in co-operative stores, and so on; nor are numerous direct and subtle jibes at the clergy lacking.

Realizing that education flourishes only in the soil of co-operation and understanding, the Russian government has been striving to familiarize parents with the problems involved in the rearing of children. For mothers there is a formidable array of literature dealing with all the phases of a child's life. Written in plain language, these pamphlets present their material in from fifteen to thirty pages and cover such topics as: How to Protect Little Children from Diseases; What Toys are Necessary for Children?; Playthings in the Preschool Age; What Kind of Diversions do Children Need?

5. Political education

The underlying motif predominating education in the Soviets is political. Theoretically, education by itself or for itself for the Communist is meaningless; education is for the social order. On all its levels it is identical with propaganda and indoctrination.

To train future members of the Communist Party a special organization has been created. There are, for one thing, the Octobrists for children from six to fourteen; then there are the Pioneers for ten- to seventeen-year-olds; and finally there are the Komsomols for those between the ages of fourteen and twenty-three. Something

like one-fifth of the population within the age groups mentioned are members of these three organizations. All these youngsters are trained intensively in the meaning of Communism with special reference to the class struggle and the meaning of Leninism. All are grounded in Communist ideology: they are expected to be activists, materialists, and non-religious in addition to being productive workers. They are taught to be ready at all times to further the Communist cause. They must be healthy and keep physically fit. Members of the older groups act as advisers to those belonging to the next younger group. To be admitted to full membership in the Pioneers and Komsomols, the youngster must go through a period of probation and study. As in the case of the Communist Party itself, there are frequent purges of the youth organizations, and only those members whose activity, interest, and loyalty are beyond any doubt are retained. At bottom, the Pioneers and Komsomols are the preparatory schools for membership in the Communist Party.

6. Summary and conclusions

Education in the U.S.S.R. contrasts sharply in many respects with that of the Czarist time. The new school is secular and even anti-religious; the old school was religious in foundation. The new school is open to all and is coeducational; the old school was based on class distinction. The new school stresses socially useful labor and things that are practical; the old school was formalistic and frankly academic. The new secondary school stresses the sciences and the practical arts; the old secondary school emphasized the classical languages. The new school is compulsory. It is based, in many respects, upon the most advanced pedagogical thought

of the day. Thus there is considerable stress on the pre-school era. On the other hand, the adult has come in for his share of training. Textbooks, as one might expect, have been revised to harmonize with the Communist ideology. The Russian alphabet has been revised, and by the elimination of a few letters it has been simplified, thus making spelling somewhat easier. Illiteracy has been steadily reduced. Considerable freedom has been given to localities, permitting them to stress their local language and culture to an extent which would be unthinkable in centralized France. A great development in modern Russian education is the vast stress given to health and hygiene. Underlying the whole educational structure, its principles and methods, is the dominant political motive. As in Nazi Germany, education in Soviet Russia is synonymous with indoctrination and propaganda.

F. The United States

1. Underlying principles of American education

As is well known, the contemporary American educational enterprise is vast, engaging in one way or another something like one-fourth of the nation. Obviously the cost of running such a gigantic undertaking is tremendous. In 1930, for example, public elementary and secondary schools cost something like two and one-half billion dollars to operate. Adding to this sum the moneys spent to maintain the colleges and private institutions, the amount runs to approximately three and one-quarter billions.

Curiously enough, the United States cannot claim a national system of schools in the strict sense. There is not, as everyone knows, a national organization of

schools, uniform throughout the republic, with identical curricula, methods, teacher training, and so on. As a matter of fact, the Constitution of the United States makes no specific mention of education. But if there is no national system, there is nonetheless an American system, with definite and recognizable characteristics, based upon a set of generally accepted principles. What are these underlying principles of the American public school? The following, I think, are some of the chief ones:

1. *Decentralization.* As in England, our schools are nationally decentralized with a large amount of local control and freedom. There are, as a matter of fact, forty-nine school systems, one for each of the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia. While the control of education is vested in the states, the Federal Government aids in supporting public education.

2. *Free, compulsory, universal education.* America believes that education is fundamental for the continued existence of a self-governing democracy. The length of compulsory education varies from state to state. In some of the more progressive-minded states there is a growing trend to extend compulsory education to adolescents.

3. *The educational ladder.* America believes in one system of articulated schools from the kindergarten to the university. It is opposed to the so-called dual system of schools.

4. *Private schools.* While the state may compel parents to send their children to school, the state cannot select the school. The state has no right to compel parents to send their children to the public school—as in Germany since 1919.

5. *Parochial schools.* Religious denominational schools may exist, and parents have the right to send their children to such schools. However, public moneys are not to be used for any sectarian purposes.

6. In principle, there is to be *equality of educational opportunity;* in practice, however, this principle is not generally realized.

2. The organization of our schools

Though the United States has no national system of education, there is considerable uniformity in its school organization. Thus, throughout the land one finds the compulsory elementary school. True enough, this varies

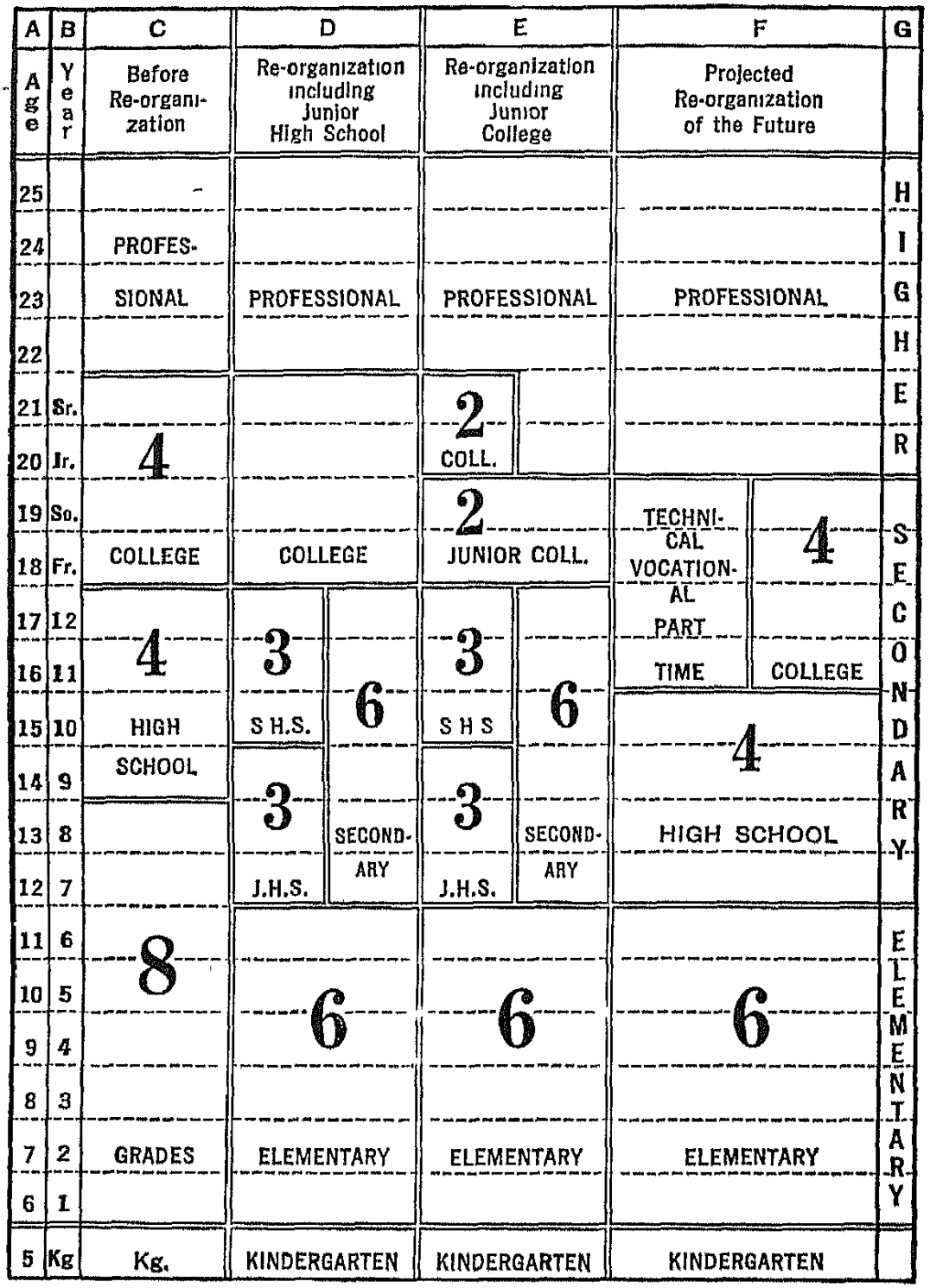


Fig. 7. Chart Showing Changes in Organization of the Schools of the United States. (From *Education in a Democracy*, by Myers and Williams. Copyright by Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1937.)

extensively in its methods and curricula, and, in fact, even in the number of years it offers to its pupils. In some places, for example, the elementary school course extends for six years; and in some communities it is a nine-year school. Our secondary school is the high school, which again varies immensely from place to place. Higher education is offered in our college and university, though here again the term is employed with extraordinary looseness. In Washington, D. C., there is the United States Office of Education, a bureau in the Department of the Interior. Established by Congress in 1867, originally as a Department of Education, the Office of Education collects and disseminates educational information of all sorts. In 1932, with the help of educators throughout the country, it completed a national survey of secondary education. The Office of Education, it should be noted, has no power or control over the states. There is also a United States Commissioner of Education, but he, of course, exerts no power over the schools. For several years there has been some agitation before Congress for the establishment of a Federal department of education. During the administration of President Hoover, a National Advisory Committee on Education was appointed to study the question. It recommended the creation of a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education as its chief.

3. Our articulated organization

Of the larger nations the United States was the first country to provide free, universal education through the elementary and secondary schools. Even today few nations have an educational ladder comparable to that of the United States, a scheme in which every unit is articulated to that above and below it, and in which all

levels are integrated in a continuous educational program from the lowest class to the highest. Historically the idea of the educational ladder goes back at least to the seventeenth century, to the educational thinking of Comenius. In practice, however, the ladder system was evolved in the United States in the early part of the nineteenth century. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the scheme was arranged as follows:

High School	Grades 9–10
Grammar Grades	Grades 7– 8
Intermediate Grades	Grades 4– 6
Primary Grades	Grades 1– 3

Today one still hears of *primary* and *intermediate* grades, but the term *grammar* grades is vanishing. Since the rise of the junior high school, the term *secondary education* seems to be increasingly favored to indicate the high school; and the term *elementary education* is replacing the *grades*. Before 1910 the elementary school was generally an eight-year institution, and was followed by a four-year high school. This is known as an 8–4 system. About 1910 the so-called 6–3–3 system was introduced whereby the elementary school was shortened, and the secondary school extended downward to include what were once known as the grammar grades, the seventh and eighth grades of the eight-year elementary school.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth grades now became the junior high school, and the following three grades comprised the senior high school. In some communities the reorganization combined the junior-senior high school, a scheme generally referred to as the 6–6 plan. The next change in the American schools introduced the junior college into the public school system on the basis of a 6–3–3–2 or a 6–6–2 plan.

4. Elementary education

If the American public school is the foundation of its democracy, then the elementary school is its cornerstone. Not only is the elementary school the cradle of democracy, but as in the past it continues to teach the basic skills, the celebrated three R's, without which intelligent citizenship would be impossible. In teaching these fundamental subjects the elementary school in recent years has tended to shift its emphasis. Oral reading, for example, has given way to silent reading. Instead of reading and rereading a single reader, moreover, the pupil reads widely, sometimes including in his reading a dozen books or so. Formal grammar has been superseded by emphasis on the development of correct written and oral speech habits. In handwriting the prime goal is legibility rather than the formation of perfect letters or the adherence to some particular system of penmanship such as the Palmer or Spencerian scheme. Up-to-date schools, moreover, do not compel their left-handed writers to use their right hand. Spelling has been harnessed to the everyday, practical vocabulary. In arithmetic the emphasis today is first on the social and practical values. The old idea of arithmetic as an aid to mental discipline is no longer in good standing. In fact, many authorities have begun to doubt the advisability of teaching any arithmetic before the seventh grade.

The curriculum of the modern elementary school is, of course, not restricted to the three R's. Ever since the days of Herbart it has been gradually enlarged. First came such subjects as history and geography, and also literature. Then, as has been explained elsewhere (pp. 9 ff.), under the spell of Dewey and others, greater stress began to be placed on creative experiences or self-expression. In this category fall such activities as music,

art, manual and shopwork, rhythmics and physical education, and home economics.

As has been said, the length of the elementary school is now generally looked upon as six years, though more than half of the nation's lower schools are still on an eight-year basis. At bottom, however, the number of years is not deemed the important factor. Increasingly the tendency is to recognize goals in the form of accomplishments and functions. The pupil's actual growth and development is accordingly more significant than his grade placement.

5. Secondary education

In the United States the purposes of secondary education have been twofold: (1) it has served to connect the elementary school and the college, and (2) it has offered an opportunity for advanced elementary education of a general type as well as some sort of practical industrial training. Before 1910 students between fourteen and eighteen years of age pursuing either of these goals were generally regarded as high school students. Since 1910, however, this term has become much more inclusive; and the purpose of secondary education is to provide those experiences which will best meet the needs of the students and those of society.

a. The junior high school. As early as 1888 President Eliot of Harvard had suggested the desirability of reorganizing the secondary school, and some cities, like Springfield, Massachusetts; for example, had even before that time undertaken a partial reorganization. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, reports issued by the Committee of Ten (1893) and the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1899) suggested a reorganization of elementary and secondary education into

six-year periods. About 1910 the new unit came into being in Columbus, Ohio, and Los Angeles and Berkeley, California. However, there is some doubt as to where the idea originated. Since then the movement has gained considerable momentum, there being more than two thousand junior high schools and something like four thousand junior-senior high schools today.

The purposes of the junior high school are several. For one thing, there is its *exploratory* nature. General science and prevocational courses are frequently offered. Then there is the matter of *guidance*. Frequently looked upon as the cornerstone of the junior high school, this seeks to help the pupil to find and realize his own possibilities and limitations. In addition, attempts are made to provide for the *individual differences* of the pupils, particular attention being given to the individual pupil's needs and interests. Finally there is the matter of *socialization*, the trend being to stress the natural social tendencies of the adolescent.

The fact that the junior high school movement has spread is significant, for it reveals a trend towards a less academic interpretation of secondary education than that which prevailed in the conventional American high school. The general growth of secondary school attendance, together with the reorganization of the secondary school, has brought us to the place where we consider the secondary school as the school for all adolescents. The old subject specialism has been replaced in the newer secondary school by much broader motives. In this new school, youth is prepared to live in a complex world; and his preparation bestows attention on his health, his social, civic, and domestic efficiency, his vocational and economic adjustment, his leisure interests, and the development of a healthy view of life.

b. The junior college. While the junior high school was a movement to extend secondary education downward, the junior college movement extends it upward. The idea of turning over the work of the first two college years to the high school was proclaimed as early as 1852 by Henry Tappan, of Michigan. The junior college, however, in its essence is a twentieth-century development. The junior college is a transitional period between the exploratory experiences of the secondary school and the more serious accompaniments of professional study or adjustment in the occupational world. There are several kinds of junior colleges, some being public or tax-supported institutions, others being private and often denominational. Some are parts of larger universities, while others have been added to preparatory schools. It is in the West and Middle West that the junior college movement has made its greatest advance. In the eastern states there are virtually no publicly supported junior colleges, though since the introduction of Federal relief funds, as a result of the depression, some junior colleges have been launched under the auspices of the government's emergency educational program. Publicly supported junior colleges may be supported by direct state appropriation for every pupil in average daily attendance, as in the case of California; or they may be supported through the general school levies, as in the case of Texas and some other states. In 1930 there were between four and five hundred junior colleges with an enrollment of something like 75,000 students.

What are the arguments in favor of the junior college? There are several. In the first place, the advantages of two years of college work are extended at a relatively low cost to all high school graduates in the community. In many cases a student would find it too expensive to leave

his community for a college education. For him the junior college has been a distinct boon. Then again, the transition from high school to college, and its consequent adjustment, is not so abrupt. Furthermore, the junior college has absorbed many adolescents who, because of the scarcity of employment, would have found their post-secondary school adjustment extremely difficult. In many junior colleges, moreover, instruction is of the highest order, being carried on by more experienced teachers than those found so often in the first and second years at some of the larger universities. In passing, the fact should be noted that the longer period of secondary education provided by the unit extending from the junior high school through the junior college, a period of eight years stretching approximately from the age of twelve to twenty, resembles the practice in Europe of offering a long secondary school course. The objectives in America, however, are quite different from those of Europe, which still continue to be quite traditional.

There are, of course, also some arguments against the junior college, as witness: It has increased the cost of public education. At times it has absorbed funds which should have gone to the furtherance of elementary and secondary education. It competes with the small college, and in some instances it would eliminate such colleges.

6. Teacher-training institutions

The first American state normal school was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1835. From this beginning the normal school developed quite rapidly, and by the end of the century every state had at least one normal school. In the very early '20's there was a very potent movement to convert these normal schools into four-year degree-conferring colleges, with the result that

today there has been a general decrease in the number of tax-supported normal schools. On the other hand many state teachers' colleges have plunged into the domain of advanced work, offering courses leading to the master's and even to the doctor's degree. In 1936 the United States Office of Education listed 158 state and municipal teachers' colleges.

7. Vocational education and guidance

The history of curricular development in the public schools reveals a steady increase in the number of vocational and quasi-vocational courses. From the early courses in accounting in the old academies and the commercial courses in the public high schools, vocational education has grown in scope to the many specialized courses found in such public high schools as the Textile High School of New York City or the Brooklyn Technical High School. Under the traditional academic curriculum, with its neglect of manual and industrial activities, the student's opportunity to discover himself and, through the guidance of his teachers, to find his vocational place in society did not exist. The old curriculum, at its best, was organized for those youngsters who were eventually to enter business or the professions; it was not organized for those children who for one reason or another were destined for the trades or for technical work. The fact that this need is today generally recognized is at least one explanation for the growth of vocational education. Despite the recognition of the general need of the various types of vocational education, it was not until the second decade of the present century that significant progress in the vocational domain was made in the public schools. In 1913 Congress authorized a Presidential Commission to investigate the matter, and this brought to light the fact that

in vocational education the United States lagged behind the other great industrial lands, particularly Germany. In 1917 the celebrated Smith-Hughes Act was enacted, creating a Federal Board of Vocational Education and authorizing Federal appropriations for vocational education. This act, incidentally, is the first example of legislation whereby a Federal agency received the right to accept or reject state educational programs and to grant or withhold funds. The Smith-Hughes Act and several other Congressional enactments provided for appropriations to further the vocational rehabilitation of disabled civilians, for co-operation with the states in the promotion of special education for agriculture, industry, and the trades, and for the training of vocational teachers. Generally these Congressional appropriations have stipulated that the states must appropriate money to supplement the Federal funds. One of the more recent vocational measures enacted by Congress was the George-Dean Act of 1936, which more than doubled the amount of former Federal appropriations to the states for the purpose of vocational education. Furthermore, this law reduced the amount of state and local funds necessary to be expended to obtain Federal aid.

An accompanying development of vocational education has been the rise and growth of psychological and vocational tests and measurements. Today there are numerous special aptitude tests of all sorts. Vocational guidance in the public schools is still another development. Beginning in Boston in 1910 with the establishment of a bureau to advise on the choice of a vocation, the guidance program has since then undergone a somewhat uneven development. Some schools, for example, still have virtually no effective guidance program, while others have a most comprehensive program. In general, guidance is

becoming increasingly recognized as an essential part of the modern public school, with the result that a number of states and cities have developed broad programs for vocational guidance.

While vocational education has shown a magnificent development in this country during the twentieth century, the recent years have revealed the need for a vocational education capable of equipping the individual with a wider scope of activity, and which will at the same time enable him to grasp the social implications of his work. No doubt the new economic and industrial readjustments have contributed to this broadening trend. In our rapidly changing industrial world vocational flexibility appears to be desirable. On the other hand, narrow vocational specialization seems less desirable, with the consequence that there is today a trend away from it. Some highly specialized vocational schools, like engineering schools, for example, have begun to supplement some of the more conventional and technical subject matter with subject matter from the field of the social sciences. The same trend, incidentally, is beginning to manifest itself in the domain of teacher training, where state and municipal authorities appear to be favoring more cultural work and less professional work in the training of prospective teachers.

8. The economic collapse of 1929

The economic collapse of 1929 was, of course, bound to affect the schools. By 1931 its influence had begun to be generally felt in the schools throughout the country. Most seriously affected were the Southern Atlantic and the South Central states. Interestingly enough, the schools of the United States appear to have suffered more than those of France and England. Forced to reduce

their budgets, school boards and administrators naturally had to cut their expenditures. At the outset this reduction took the form of eliminating what might be called miscellaneous educational services and by delaying anticipated improvements. Subsequently, however, current school expenses were lowered by drastic cuts in teachers' salaries. At the same time classes were enlarged and special teachers and supervisors assigned to regular teaching work. The general economy wave poured into the area of the so-called special subjects, such as art, music, shopwork, and physical education, which were in many instances not only curtailed in scope but even eliminated altogether. Moreover, while teachers were being dropped, other persons, unable to get employment in their own field, began to turn to teaching, with the result that there developed an oversupply of qualified or partially qualified teachers.

In many places the school term was shortened by as much as twenty days. In fact, in hundreds of rural areas schools failed to open at all. Obviously only a small number of new buildings were opened, and even necessary repairs and improvements were drastically neglected. The kindergarten and the education of handicapped children disappeared in many places, and in others the work was seriously curtailed. By the spring of 1933, it is estimated, some ten million boys and girls had been seriously interrupted in their educational development.

Not only did the depression halt and retard the educational labor and progress of half a century, but at the same time it was seized upon as an opportunity by those who were inhospitable to public education. Groups of citizens, in many cases heavy taxpayers, launched unbridled criticism of the educational program. The schools, they argued, had gone too far; education was full

of "fads and frills"—such as the kindergarten, vocational guidance, special education of the handicapped—and teachers were overpaid.

Others, while not so acidulous in their attacks on the schools themselves, were convinced that the schools represented a disproportionate item on the various budgets. What was necessary, they argued, was economy of an efficient and sensible sort. In their search for a method of financing public education it was eventually realized that our method of making the schools dependent in a large way for revenue drawn from taxes on real property was unsatisfactory.

In 1936 the nation's public schools began to rally from the depression; but in 1939 the backlash of the so-called "recession" struck them. Not only was there another wave of economy and retrenchment in many states and localities, but in some places financial difficulties were immense and serious. In Ohio, for example, the state school fund was reported to be some $17,000,000 short. School funds were also low in other states. Georgia, for example, owed its school teachers some $5,000,000. In Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Property Owners Association warned that their state's public school system was "doomed to early collapse," unless something could be done to replenish the special state fund for schools in distressed areas. Under the leadership of an economy administration the State of Connecticut undertook to close most of its state teachers' colleges and to diminish many of its educational services. The economy move in education, despite its sinister teachings of only a few years before, has already shown itself in several states.

9. Federal participation in education

As has been suggested, education in the United States is deemed a local matter. In some states, such as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut, there is considerable centralization of authority. On the other hand, in most of the southern and western states there is very little. Usually the highest educational official in the state is the Commissioner of Education or the State Superintendent of Schools, who is either directly elected by the people (in most states this is the case), appointed by the governor, or chosen by the State Board of Education. Through his staff the commissioner or state superintendent exercises the necessary supervision over the schools, seeing to it that the state laws on education are enforced. Locally the school district is the unit of administration, with authority vested in a school board which varies in size from three in rural districts to as many as fifteen in the cities. The local school board has considerable power. It hires the superintendent or supervising principal; it receives tax collections and state moneys; it is responsible for the expenditure of school funds; it is responsible for the hiring of teachers, the purchase of textbooks, equipment, and supplies. Usually, most of these latter duties the board delegates to the superintendent. Members of the local board are generally elected and serve without compensation.

The fact that there is a national interest in an efficient program of education has generated the question as to the extent to which Federal participation in education may be desirable. The fact that there are wide inequalities and discrepancies in educational opportunity among the different states has led some to believe that outside help would be beneficial in spurring backward states to educational progress. As has already been

pointed out, the proposal has been made for a National Department of Education, with a Secretary of Education as a member of the presidential cabinet. In the main, he would be responsible for the coordination of the diverse educational programs and the administering of greater Federal aid for education in order to equalize educational opportunities throughout the country. The plan has won many friends and supporters; but as is to be expected, it has also its foes. The latter object to the scheme chiefly because they fear the danger of a Federal educational bureaucracy, a menace to local freedom, and a danger of over-centralization and over-standardization.

In accordance with President Roosevelt's *First Plan on Government Reorganization,* the Office of Education was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Federal Security Agency, the transfer becoming effective July 1, 1939. In addition to the Office of Education the organization comprising the new Federal Security Agency includes the Social Security Board, now an independent unit; the United States Employment Service, now in the Department of Labor; the Public Health Service, now in the Treasury Department; the National Youth Administration, now in the Works Progress Administration; and the Civilian Conservation Corps, now an independent organization.

Also affecting the Office of Education is the President's Second Plan which transfers the Radio and Motion Picture Divisions of the National Emergency Council to the Office of Education.

In his message to Congress in transmitting the Reorganization Plan, the President stated that "this transfer does not increase or extend the activities of the Federal Government in respect to education, but does move the existing activities into a grouping where the work may

be carried on more efficiently and expeditiously, and where coordination and the elimination of overlapping may be better accomplished. The Office of Education has no relationship to the other functions of the Department of the Interior."

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Questions

I—Progressive Education

1. In education, should we stress the individual or society?
2. Is individuality lessened by group association? Explain.
3. What part is played by organized education in the development of individuality?
4. What current problems make new and significant demands on the educational aims and purposes of the school in this country?
5. Compare pragmatism and idealism as educational philosophies.
6. How is the task of education affected if it accepts the fact of change? Of fixity?
7. What has been the influence of tested thought on change? Does it increase or lessen change? How?
8. What are some of the factors which produce change in a culture?
9. Compare the project method with the Herbartian formal steps. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?
10. To what extent should creativity be stressed in education?
11. Are experimental schools of any particular value to public education? Explain.
12. Compare educational reconstruction in Europe with the same movement in the United States. What likenesses and differences do you note?
13. Discuss the student court as it existed in the school of Berthold Otto. Contrast it with similar school courts in this country. What, if any, is the value of such courts?
14. To what extent is genuine student self-government possible? What are its fundamental prerequisites? To what extent do you find these in the schools at Odenwald and *Wickersdorf?*
15. Explain Gcheeb's distinction between coeducation and coinstruction. To what extent does he realize coeducation in his school? How does this compare with coeducation in the average American school?

16. Can we educate without indoctrination? To what extent is Wyneken's *youth culture* practical?

17. "No person who is not eager to combat the theories of social change should be entrusted with the task of fitting the young and old of this State for the responsibilities of citizenship." (Lusk Committee). Discuss.

18. Show how some modern states have deliberately undertaken to change the culture of their people. Do you consider this desirable? Why?

19. Does a teacher in the public schools have a right—legal or otherwise—to teach his social positions even when they diverge from the general majority viewpoint?

20. How shall the schools deal with controversial issues?

21. What are the claims made by the Progressives? By the Essentialists? What is your estimate of the merits of their respective arguments?

II—Other Developments

1. What are the characteristics of science? Of the scientific method?

2. What is meant by the statement that the only pure science is mathematics? Do you agree? Why?

3. To what extent can we employ the scientific method in education? In employing the scientific method in education what is essential?

4. Do you believe that conflicts in educational theory may eventually be reconciled by the findings of educational science? Explain.

5. What is your reaction to the statement that whatever exists, exists in quantity and hence can be measured?

6. What do modern educators know about the child and his nature that was unknown to Rousseau and his contemporaries? In what respect can our present knowledge be further enhanced and improved?

7. What are the so-called "needs of children"?

8 In constructing the school curriculum, what principles would you follow?

9. How much of the school curriculum might be found in the community life?

10. Can a school curriculum survive a significant social revolution? Explain.

11. Do you subscribe to the statement that no educational program can serve all societies?

12. What are some of the leading contemporary psychologies? If psychology is justified in its claim to being a science, how do you account for the numerous present-day psychologies?

13. What is the psychological explanation of the statement that *the whole cat catches the mouse*? Which psychological school would subscribe to this statement?

14. On the basis of behavioristic psychology, would it be possible to improve human nature? Explain.

15. What is your reaction to the statement that human nature does not change?

16. Do you believe that the human organism is predisposed favorably toward any social, political, or economic scheme or system?

17. What is meant by transfer of training? What is the present status of the theory?

18. In a democracy, how can special education of the gifted be justified?

19. It is sometimes said that the schools of a democracy are concerned with respect for personality? Of what does such a respect consist?

20. What is the place of the expert in a democracy?

21. What part is played by organized education with respect to the development of individuality?

22. Should the school be organized to train everyone for participation in co-operative enterprises? Or should it be organized to train the elite for leadership? Explain.

23. To what extent can American educators profit from the work of such idealists as Grundtvig, Kold, and Wartenweiler?

24. Contrast the role of adult education in a democracy such as the United States, England, or Switzerland with that in an authoritarian state like Germany or Russia?

25. Is there any relationship between the wise use of leisure and the operation of our economic order? Explain.

26. Contrast the modern American college with the early colleges of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. How do you account for the differences?

27. In a democracy, what should be the aims and purposes of the college? To what extent are these being realized today?

28. What evidence can you find to support the assertion that the American college is an "awakening college"?

29. Is the junior college movement to be interpreted as a secondary school movement or a college movement? Explain.

30. Do you believe that college athletics need to be de-emphasized? Discuss.

31. If the world of tomorrow is to attain social co-operation, what can the college contribute to the fulfillment of this ideal?

32. Do you believe that increased college registration has inevitably affected its scholastic standards? Discuss.

33. In a democracy should free public education be extended to the college level? Explain.

34. What is your reaction to the assertion that many of our larger and leading colleges are organizing many of their courses primarily because they pay rather than because they are educationally sound?

35. Is the college justified in offering its students such courses as clog dancing, angling, typewriting, horseback-riding, cafeteria management, and the like? Explain.

36. What attempts have been made to apply the scientific method to the field of college education?

37. What is the international character of the contemporary economic structure? What are the implications for education?

38. What are the conditions that keep nationalism alive as a force in the modern world? What is being done about them?

39. Do you consider the various forms of patriotism desirable in the present interdependent world order? Explain.

40. What are the fundamental causes of war? To what extent is the American school an agency for peace or war?

41. What do we mean when we speak of our country's *national interest*?

42. What is your reaction to the work of such educators as Kees Boeke of Holland and Paul Geheeb of Switzerland in their efforts to use the school as an agency for effecting better international understanding?

III—National Systems

1. What are the factors determining the nature and amount of education provided in a national system of education? Show how this applies to the various nations discussed in this text.

2. What is the meaning of the phrase *equality of educational opportunity*? What provisions are being made by the various nations to effect such equality?

3. What is the relationship between equality of educational opportunity and educational selection?

4. To what extent does the responsibility of a national system of education extend beyond instruction? Illustrate with specific examples.

5. Compare the degree of educational centralization in the

various nations. What attempts are made to effect a balance of power between the central and local authorities?

6. What are the chief arguments for and against national educational centralization in the United States? Would such centralization imperil the status of private, sectarian education?

7. What are the arguments in favor of school consolidation in the rural districts? What are the chief obstacles to bringing about such consolidation?

8. Do you believe parents and teachers should participate in the administration of education? Explain.

9. Compare the preschools of Europe with those of the United States.

10. How do you explain the survival of the disciplinary concept of secondary education in Europe? How do you account for the fact that in the United States it has been discarded? What have been the effects in each case?

11. Compare the aims of secondary education.

12. Contrast the American high school with the secondary schools of Germany and France. What provisions beyond the elementary school are made for the non-academic pupil in the European schools?

13. Contrast the totalitarian and democratic states with respect to their attitude toward and the use of controversial issues in their schools.

14. Compare education in National Socialist Germany with that of Communist Russia. What likenesses and differences do you note? How do you account for them?

15. Is it possible for a state to employ the practices of Progressive Education and at the same time indoctrinate pupils for life in a predetermined social order? Explain.

16. What are the scope and purpose of adult education in Russia? How do these differ from those of adult education in America?

17. Can you discover any practices in contemporary German and Russian education which are superior to our own practices? Is there anything inherent in American life and culture which would prevent us from achieving such superior practices?

18. What is propaganda? What role does it play in modern education? Is propaganda always bad?

19. What do you think of the assertion that public education should remain free, but should avoid dangerous innovations?

20. Do you believe that American education tends to foster a uniformity of mind and manners? Explain.

21. In what specific ways has nationalism affected the aims and programs of the American school system?

22 How has democracy affected the purposes and programs of the American school system?

23. How is the clash between nationalism and the interdependent world economy reflected in American education?

24. To what extent have technological developments affected modern education?

25. Do you see any relationship between economic matters and adequate educational provisions for all the people? Explain.

26. What is your reaction to the statement that teachers in the United States have become a "pressure group" working for their own private ends?

27. What should be the functions of teachers in a changing society?

28. What are the arguments for and against the question of teachers' unions as part of the national organization of labor?

29. Should the school be used to create a culture? How would this be done in a democracy? In an authoritarian state?

30. What are some of the trends in American public education? To what extent are these trends due to the forces inherent in a changing society? To what extent are they due to other factors?

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